

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## SHALL WE JOIN FRANCE'S

### "Refuse To Be Conscripted"

#### APPEAL FROM FRENCH PACIFISTS

FROM the political section of the Santé Prison, Paris, has come to *Peace News* an appeal to the people of the world to renounce war.

The author is Eugène Lagot, who writes on behalf of the other French political détenus.

The text of the appeal, which we publish exactly as we received it, is as follows:

APPEAL FROM THE FRENCH REPUBLIC PRISON!

In the darkness of their Cell, the French Pacifists writers, prosecuted without Judgment, condemned by default, Appeal-less, for having written that

"WARS WILL CEASE WHEN MEN REFUSE TO FIGHT!"

Call the People of the World, on the following truths:

PEOPLE OF THE WORLD!—WAR IS BEHIND YOUR DOORS!

CEASE DELIBERATING, to ACT!

You shall be shortly called to Defend the French and/or English Democracies. DON'T GO!

FRANCE is not Pacifist, Liberal or Democratic Country;

BUT IMPERIALIST!

It is FALSE that you may fight to save Liberty.

LIBERTY is PROSECUTED in FRANCE, the same as in Dictatorial Countries. If you go to fight IT CANNOT BE FOR OTHER PURPOSES than to PRESERVE IMPERIALISTIC INTERESTS.

If you REFUSE TO FIGHT, France SHALL NOT UNDERTAKE an Universal Slaughtery.

The Frenchman in the street DON'T CARE OF COLONIES, that are pretexts to take of his blood and the main part of his wages, when Imperialism exploit fiercely coloured men.

The ONLY WAY to save PEACE is that PEOPLE OF ENGLAND REFUSES CONSCRIPTION that enslaves French People! REFUSES to be ENGAGED in a War to save French Imperialism. MANIFESTS THAT "HE" WILL BOYCOTT ANY AIM, ANY SHIPMENT EVEN WITH THE THREAT OF GENERAL STRIKE, to the BELLIGERENT POWERS.

SUCH DOING WILL SAVE MOST SURELY WORLD PEACE AND LIBERTY THAN TO COLLABORATE TO AN UNIVERSAL MURDERING.

For the French Imprisoned Pacifists,  
Eugène LAGOT (W.R.I. Council Member)  
Prison de la Santé,  
Paris.

Please propagate this Appeal and oblige.

We gladly publish this appeal, which gives point to the revelation in the adjoining column that the French Government are viewing with heightened interest the progress of the British National Service campaign.

What have YOU done to help Eugène Lagot, imprisoned for his pacifist convictions? See page 3.

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## CONSCRIPT ARMY?

### Where National Service Is Leading Us

THE French Government and Press, it is authoritatively reported, are watching the progress of the National Service recruitment campaign here with very great interest.

Herr Hitler's emphasis on the solidarity of the Berlin-Rome axis, French suspicion of Italy's intentions with regard to her colonial claims, and the speculations on a possible rapprochement between Germany and Russia, are urging the French Government to strengthen their understanding with the British Government, and to look upon the "defence" preparations in this country as their vital concern.

There are even some French quarters in which the view is openly expressed that Mr. Chamberlain should have introduced a compulsory register as a gesture of defiance to the dictators.

Meanwhile there is a growing opinion in the pacifist movement that the National Service campaign should be used to make a united protest against the war preparations of which it is a part.

Many correspondents, whom we quote on this page, suggest that this could be effectively achieved by the filling up of the National Service forms sent to every household with a declaration that the signatory was unprepared to give any service of the character offered, on the ground that it is preparation for war, and adding some comment or indication of willingness to work for peace.

### "To Make Us Ready For War"

THE country is now aware, or ought to be, of the real nature of "National Service."

As presented in the Schedule of Reserved Occupations and in the booklet sent to every householder, it appears clearly as an essential part of the national rearmament campaign. "It is a scheme," as Mr. Chamberlain himself has said, "to make us ready for war."

As such, its progress is being watched intently by all the other nations of the world. France is particularly interested.

#### FRENCH INTERESTS

From the Paris correspondent of *The Times* comes the revelation that French mistrust of Italy and Germany, linked with the fear that Russia may be persuaded to regard friendship with Germany as a greater assurance of her peace than the alliance with France, has caused a heightening of interest in British defence preparations.

"Nothing is more certain," he wrote, "than that not even Mr. Chamberlain himself could hope more ardently for its (the National Service recruiting campaign's) success than every one of his neighbours across the Channel."

"Some commentators make no secret of the fact that they would have preferred to see at least a compulsory register introduced immediately, in the belief that it would have provided such a danger signal that not even the blindest of dictators could fail to see and understand."

The British people, we thus learn, are being confidently regarded as a welcome reinforcement to France's conscript army.

Except for the Prime Minister's own  
(Continued on page 9)

### Using the Form For Pacifist Protest

#### "PEACE NEWS" READERS' SUGGESTIONS

WHILE it is claimed in official circles that there has been a good response to the efforts to boost the National Register, a large number of people—those within the pacifist movement and some outside it—are withholding their support. They are doing so because they believe the Register is a step forward in the preparation of the nation for war.

While the Sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union have advised members to have nothing to do with the Register, letters received by *Peace News* indicate that many members, feeling that no response at all could be misconstrued by the Government, are considering how best to use the Register itself as an occasion to record their opposition to war now, without waiting for the introduction of conscription to which the Register is believed to be a preliminary.

One correspondent emphasizes the undesirability of the same form of words being used in each case. The receipt by the authorities of a large number of forms completed in a stereotyped manner would suggest an organized protest, perhaps without individual conviction behind it, and would therefore carry little weight.

The same writer, however, points out that, although it would be desirable for those using the form in this manner to

(Continued on page 2)

### FOR ENROLMENT

checked, folded as directed overleaf, and posted to or left at the the Guide. (If posted no stamp is required.)

(8) If employed, state Employer's name and address (if own employer, state "on own account").

(9) Employer's business

Signature of applicant

*I renounce war, and I will never support or sanction another*

SECTION II—For official use by the Ministry of Labour

Occupational sub-Classification No.

A reproduction of part of the National Service enrolment form, showing how some pacifists are replying. Correspondents of "Peace News," who are quoted on this page, suggest that by this means the Government can be made aware of the strength of the opposition to National Service throughout the country. It is emphasized (1) that the name of the person need not be given, if victimization is feared, and (2) that the reply should not be stereotyped in form. Here the Peace Pledge is used for convenience.



## Short Story

# The General Meets Logic

ONE day a shifty-looking man entered the War Office of a country of which the name is neither here nor there, and demanded:—

"Take me to somebody who understands something. I've some important business to communicate."

"Understands something?"

"About aviation. I've an invention I want to sell; an invention which means a revolution in the science of warfare. Whoever buys it will immediately have the whip-hand of the enemy."

Naturally, this announcement was joyfully received and the inventor was at once conducted to a venerable general.

The general was no less delighted than the others. He offered the inventor the most comfortable armchair, and asked:—

"Well, my dear sir, what, may I ask, is this invention of yours?"

"I have constructed a type of air-cruiser capable of remaining in the air for a week, of carrying a battalion of soldiers, and of defying the most unfavourable weather conditions. I thought you might be interested in buying it?"

And when the general had promised not to abuse the inventor's confidence the visitor produced a bulky package and spread out his plans and drawings on the table.

"Yes..." said the general when he had examined the drawings. "This seems to justify your claims. How much do you want for this invention?"

"A million."

"Splendid!" said the general, and shook hands with him. "Here is an order on the Treasury. A round million. And thank you very much. And when you have anything else to offer, please come to me again."

## Another Offer

"I happen to have something else right now," said the stranger. "Something that will amaze you."

"And what is that?"

"I have constructed a gun which will destroy your air-cruiser in a couple of seconds and send it crashing to the ground like a sack of flour. The cruiser is absolutely impotent against this."

"Indeed!" said the general, and frowned. "I don't think I quite follow you. Do you mean to tell me that you first invent a really practical air-cruiser, and then blow it to smithereens with your own gun? Aren't you ashamed of yourself?"

"I don't see why I should be," replied the visitor. "You will admit that the science of warfare is being constantly improved, and that no one can afford to fall behind and risk being defeated. My air-cruiser is a terrible weapon. It was therefore the obvious thing to devise a counter-weapon."

"Hm!... Theoretically, of course, that is indisputable, but practically... If someone else had constructed this gun and offered it to us I could understand. But when you yourself..."

"Good lord!" exclaimed the stranger. "What difference does that make? What is the difference if I go out of the room, shave off my moustache, change into another suit, come back through the same door and introduce myself as if I had never seen you before? If it will amuse you, I'm quite ready to oblige."

The general felt a little ashamed of himself, for he realized that he had said something stupid.

"I grant you that," he admitted. "We have no option but to buy your gun to prevent you from selling it to someone else. How much?"

"A million."

The general wrote out the order, patted the inventor on the shoulder and said:—

"I must say you are a very capable young man."

"I should be the last to contradict you."

"Not only an air-cruiser... but on top of it a gun..."



"You flatter me. After all, there is always an antidote for everything."

"Still, as far as I can judge from your drawings..."

"Yes, of course... This gun is a terrible weapon. But all the same..."

The inventor sat down again, looked at the general and said:—

"... all the same. What would you say if I told you a secret? I have invented an armoured plating to protect the airship against the gun. It is so strong that the gun cannot even scratch it..."

The general clasped his head.

"Are you trying to drive me absolutely mad? To behave like you are is contemptible—dastardly—dishonourable..."

The stranger frowned.

"I am not behaving dishonourably. What right have you to say so? Is there anything wrong with my air-cruiser? It's first rate."

For a while they sat in silence, the general in puzzled concentration, the inventor lolling with a cigarette in his mouth.

The general would have liked to repeat his former objection that it would have been better if someone else had offered him the armoured plating, but he was afraid that the stranger would again suggest shaving off his moustache.

"How much?" he asked.

"A million."

"Won't you take half?"

This brilliant piece of satire by the Russian writer Arkadi Awerchenko is reproduced from "Lilliput," by the kind permission of the proprietors.

## USING THE FORM FOR PACIFIST PROTEST

(continued from page 1)

insert their names and addresses, this is not essential.

Those who might otherwise fear victimization need not therefore be deterred from registering their opposition. Large numbers of anonymous forms completed in this way would warn the authorities of the extent of the opposition in the country.

Another correspondent, from Chesterfield, points out that if all pacifists completed the form, "the PPU and other societies would know their number and intentions clearly, as also the Government."

If no common action is taken by pacifists, point out Arthur Hewlett and Ernest H. Johncock, of Abbey Wood, "we shall dissipate our influence and be simply lost amongst the 14 or 15 million forms which the Government is no doubt expecting to go into the waste-paper basket."

Margery South, of Shipley, suggests a short statement of the pacifist's refusal to join the forces or to work on munitions and adds: "In my own case I shall give no further particulars other than my name and address."

"We older pacifists do not wish to hide behind the fact that we left the age of 25 behind us some time ago, and furthermore we have a serious responsibility for our younger members... Even those who are willing to help in ambulance work or evacuation schemes could make some such statement."

The inclusion of a declaration "that the Government ought to permit pacifists to

serve in a voluntary organization which is working for the well-being of mankind as a whole and for peace between our nation and our neighbours" is suggested by O. T. Miller, of Fakenham, Norfolk, together with a statement of willingness to serve the country in any constructive and peaceful undertaking.

Service for mankind is also urged as the real national service by George Williams, of Manchester, who thinks pacifists "should act on the advice of Sir John Anderson in the National Service booklet and ask and answer the question: 'How can I best help my country to maintain peace and security?'"

We can do that by "preaching the gospel that there can be peace and security for our country only when world economy is arranged on a much more sensible and just and humane basis than it is now... As a first step this country must be urged to call together all the nations to a conference which is prepared to give something to remedy the many injustices which exist."

The same note is struck in one of several leaflets on this issue which have just been published.

Entitled *Friends and National Service*, it outlines some of the forms service for peace can take, and adds: "There are tasks enough here for any man or woman. Would they be accepted as 'National Service?' No, because they do not contribute to the war potentiality of the nation; instead they are essential parts of a constructive peace policy."

The leaflet is published by Hardshaw East Monthly Meeting Peace Committee, Friends' Meeting House, 6 Mount Street, Manchester, 2, price 4d. each or 2s. 9d. per 100.

"Wouldn't dream of it," said the visitor. "I can get two million for it if I take it somewhere else."

"Yes, yes," sighed the general. "Well, take your million—there! You're ruining us."

The inventor put away the order with the others, shook the general's hand and took a step towards the door.

"Just a moment," said the general. "Are you quite sure that the armoured plating will resist every kind of gun-fire?"

"Of course. That is to say, provided that no new guns with exceptional penetrating powers are invented."

"What? And do you seriously believe that they will be invented?"

"They have already been invented."

"By whom?"

"By me."

"Damn it all... why the devil didn't you tell me so?"

"What do you mean? I am telling you; these guns have already been invented."

The general snorted.

"I see... And now you're going to offer us this new gun? And when we've bought the gun, you are going to grin all over your face again and tell us that you have another armoured plating up your sleeve, aren't you?"

"Certainly."

"And when you have rooked us of another million, you will invent another gun and yet another armour?"

"Certainly."

The general wrung his hands, tore out a handful of hair and yelled:—

"May the devil take you! You've trapped us! You robber! You blood-sucker! Tell me your name, so that we may curse it at every street corner."

The stranger leapt to his feet. His face, on which had flickered until then a mocking smile, was livid; his lip quivered with anger. "Blackguard me as much as you like," he said. "It won't make you any wiser or me more foolish... I shall not tell you my name; but if you had a little more intelligence, you would realize that I am Logic in person, just sound Common Sense. You lack that quality, and that is why you cannot understand that it is immaterial whether your country ruins itself with armaments in ten years or in ten minutes. Human genius has spoken to you and you show it the door. But that is no concern of mine; every man makes a fool of himself and ruins himself as best he can. But you have not even got the guts to ruin yourself thoroughly in one fell swoop. Good afternoon..."

And the stranger slammed the door behind him, and left the War Office of a country of which the name is neither here nor there.

## THANKS!

We are asked to acknowledge, on behalf of the British Red Cross Society, the receipt of a supply of clothing, &c., for the Czech refugees from "Two Kamerads."

## More Talks on War Resistance Abroad

The following informative group talks have been arranged by the War Resisters' International group of speakers:

February 8. SLOUGH; Eric L. Dixon.  
24. COULSDON; Kenneth Clark.  
Feb. 24 or Mar. 8. HARROGATE;

W. Denis Riley.  
February 28. READING; Sydney P. Larcombe.  
March 21. GROVE PARK; Eric T. Roach.

22. BATH; George H. Lockett.  
On dates to be fixed: EYNSFORD; Sydney P. Larcombe. TROWBRIDGE; Harold F. Bing. BRISTOL; George H. Lockett. HONOR OAK PARK; Eric T. Roach.

Any other groups in or near London, or in the Bristol or Manchester area, wishing to hear about the work for war resistance abroad, should communicate with:—  
Sydney P. Larcombe, 6 Cavendish Avenue, Sevenoaks, Kent, or Grace M. Beaton, General Secretary, War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

## SPANISH CHILDREN

Tomas Guillen will be 6 on February 5.  
Miguel Planas will be 16 on February 24.  
Ina Garcia will be 3 on February 27.

These children are in the WRI Home for Spanish Refugee children at "Les Tamaris," Prats-de-Mollo, France. Funds are still urgently needed to maintain the home and for the continuation of relief work in Spain.

Gifts of new and worn clothing are also asked for and should be sent to: War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex. Each parcel should bear the name and address of the sender. Garments should be laundered before they are sent—soap is so scarce in Spain; it is lacking even in the hospitals. Boots and shoes too old for repair should not be sent and hats are not worn by Spanish women.

WHITEHALL THEATRE — WHI 6692  
Evenings, 8.30. Matinees, Wed. & Sat. 2.30  
GLORIOUS MORNING  
by Norman MacOwan

THIS FAMOUS PLAY APPROACHING ITS 300th  
PERFORMANCE CAN NOW BE SEEN AT  
1/6 to 6/3 HALF PRICES  
ALL SEATS BOOKABLE.



## NEW ZEALAND ECONOMIST JOINS PACIFISTS

From Our Own Correspondent

WELLINGTON, N.Z.

MR. GEORGE LAWN, the economist, who, as reported in *Peace News* (October 22), declared that the so-called Japanese menace to New Zealand was "the feverish outcome of a fear-ridden military mind," has come out strongly as a pacifist. He has joined the little Peace Pledge Union group just formed here, and recently addressed a public meeting on their behalf, when he spoke on "Practical pacifism versus military idealism."

Mr. Lawn was lecturer in Economics at Canterbury College, Christchurch, until appointed Economic adviser to the Reserve Bank of New Zealand by the Labour Government.

### BRITISH PACIFISM

Recognition of the strength of pacifist thought in Britain (about which the press here—as in England—is silent) was made by Professor Sewell, of Auckland University, who returned from a visit to England in June.

Speaking on Britain's foreign policy, at a large Left Book Club meeting (he is himself a left-wing socialist supporter of collective security), he referred to the strong pacifist opinions expressed at the Methodist Conference this year. He also declared, incidentally, that the lying-in-state of Dick Sheppard was equal to that of King George V!

### A Reply to the Nazis

In reply to the Nazi Government's refusal to take part in the New York World's Fair a newly formed group in New York is privately raising £50,000 with which to build and furnish a "freedom pavilion," which will be devoted to the art, culture and science of pre-Nazi Germany.

The State Department has approved the idea, and a site has been donated for the pavilion.

Former Governor Alfred E. Smith, who is a member of the organizing committee, said that the "rank and file some day are going to throw Hitler and the rest out of the window and give Germany a really decent Government."

## Have YOU Helped Lagot?

HAVE you written yet to the responsible French officials to tell them that the continued imprisonment of Eugène Lagot is a slur on the name democracy in France?

Recently Reginald Reynolds recalled in *Peace News* how Lagot was arrested last November and sent to serve a sentence of six months' imprisonment, passed in his absence in 1935 for an article on pacifism in *La Patrie Humaine*. (He was also fined 500 francs.) The court had held that an article addressed



to the readers of a pacifist weekly paper was inciting "to insubordination men called or re-called to military service or young soldiers!"

To make sure that French official opinion—which is sensitive to public opinion in Britain and America—realizes that Lagot's case is known abroad, and that his release is expected, write to:

Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères aux bons soins de M. l'Ambassadeur de France,  
French Embassy,  
Albert Gate, London, S.W.1.

and to:

Monsieur le Garde des Sceaux,  
Ministre de la Justice,  
Place Vendôme, Paris.

At the same time, send a postcard to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, so that they will know how many letters the French authorities have received.

# Disarmament Challenge to U.S. Senate

## MOVE TO END WAR BY LAW

From TRACY D. MYGATT

TO a United States, clanging like Great Britain, Europe and Asia, with the raucous cry of yet more armament, comes the still small voice of sanity and common sense, in the shape of Senator Frazier's reintroduction of the Constitutional Amendment for Independent Disarmament.

Some day, when the world has learned the bitter lesson of false defence, January 4, 1939, may become a happy and historic milestone. For it was then that the brave "dirt farmer" of North Dakota, again made common cause with the "idealists" of the Women's Peace Union, and once again brought their bill of rights to the US Congress.

Here, a serviceable tool for peace, it waits for use. And in every country where the will to peace prevented war last September, it brings fresh heart of hope.

### To Outlaw War

Different countries will no doubt use slightly different methods of outlawing war, and abolishing military preparedness. But in the United States, where it is so clear that the seeds of war are in the Constitution itself, it is equally clear that the 150-year-old instrument must itself be amended, so that in the highest law of the land the whole belief in the justification of force may be outlawed.

As Senator Frazier wrote some years ago, when again he was proposing the Amendment:

"It makes war an outlaw, depriving it, the enemy of law, of all legal sanction and prestige, of all the protection and support which our Constitution now gives it."

"War is a tremendous stupidity, a denial of our own intelligence. It is the means through which, so far, many civilizations have perished, and could easily be the means by which we also might be destroyed. . . . The United States should set the example."

And now again, this time as Senate Joint Resolution 25, the Independent Disarmament Resolution is before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, where, stripped of all legalistic verbiage, it stands, a rallying cry for political pacifism.

### The Real Enemy

A spirited letter from the Women's Peace Union has been included in the Congressional Record by Senator Frazier, to whom it is addressed. The letter bears study, for in it again and again rings out the fallacy of defence by arms. Thus:

"Armament and so-called preparedness do not mean safety. They mean the constant danger of our being involved in war for policies and programmes which, even if honestly undertaken, will result in the destruction of life, not its defence; in the violation, not the preservation, of our American ideals."

"We in the United States should be immune to the madness of imported war hysteria. We should call no nation our enemy. Cruelty, injustice, war itself are our enemies and they cannot be conquered by violent means."

"Skillful propagandists and sincere idealists alike, seizing upon our natural indignation over the conquest of helpless peoples and the persecution of minorities, are arousing in us the deadly negative emotions of hate and fear. . . . Before it is too late, let us turn our hatred of cruelty and oppression, our scorn of dictatorship, into constructive action. Let us prove our good will. Let us disarm."

"Then, and then only, can we help our tragic world to economic and racial adjustment. Then, because we have shown ourselves fearless, with spiritual and moral integrity, we can employ the technique of non-violent resistance as the sane and valid substitute of bloodshed."

## War Pensions Cost £40,200,000

Pensions from the Great War are still costing £40,200,000. This was revealed by Mr. Ramsbottom, Minister of Pensions, in his annual report.

There are still 904,700 pensioners and their dependants in receipt of grants.

### "War . . . Shall Be Illegal"

HERE is the text of Senator Frazier's amendment to the US Constitution to make it illegal for America to go to war: "War for any purpose shall be illegal, and neither the United States nor any State, territory, association, or person subject to its jurisdiction shall prepare for, declare, engage in, or carry on war or other armed conflict, expedition, invasion, or undertaking, within or without the United States, nor shall any funds be raised, appropriated or expended for such purpose."

## Praying for Peace A "Crime"

For "mis-using the pulpit"—praying for peace—Pastor Mueller, leader of the Opposition (Protestant) Church in Germany, and two other pastors are to be tried.

It was reported last week that the charge was based on Pastor Mueller's call to his parishioners to "pray for the maintenance of peace and for a successful issue of international efforts on behalf of peace," during the last crisis.

Pastor Mueller and forty other pastors have already had their salary stopped by Herr Kerrl, Nazi Church Minister.

## Constables in Jamaica Criticized

The behaviour of certain special constables during disturbances in Jamaica in May and June of last year when eight people were killed, 32 wounded, and 745 arrested, was criticized in a report submitted to the Governor by two local commissions appointed to investigate the rioting.

Reporting on the rioting on the Frome Sugar estate, Westmorland Parish, one commission suggested that the police should use tear gas instead of rifles and bayonets.

In this rioting the police fired 38 shots when a crowd of a thousand began stone throwing. Four people were killed and 13 wounded.

### For and Against

A protest against the "ignoble provocative article" of the Roman paper *Il Tevere*, entitled "We spit on France" has been waged by the Italian Popular Union and the Italian Association of ex-Service Men.

In a statement which they made believing that they were rightly interpreting the feelings of the Italian people, they said:

The greater part of this attack clearly shows to what extent it is a campaign of hate against the French people. In expressing our indignation we want to defend the honour and dignity of the Italian people, who reject this criminal campaign waged on the friendly relations with France.

### Mr. Gandhi on

## NON-VIOLENCE IN THE EAST AND WEST

ON the eve of the International Missionary Conference which opened in Tambaram, near Madras, recently, many visitors met Mr. Gandhi to exchange views with him on present-day problems.

His answers to the various questions were summed up by his own paper *Harijan*.

"You would expect us Christians to copy your example," said one questioner. "Should we allow our religious motive to plunge us into politics?"

Mr. Gandhi replied that those who came from different parts of the world into India could not say "we shall have nothing to do with the politics of the country."

They would not be true to their faith [reported *Harijan*] if they bargained with the Government in order to supersede their fellow-feeling with the people. . . . If a missionary puts himself out for service, opportunities will come—today it may be in the economic sphere, tomorrow in the social, next time it may be in the political field. You cannot then say, "I shall confine myself to this or that work and do nothing else."

### THE SUPREME FORCE

Asked in what relation his non-violence stood to the pacifist attitude "which we Westerners are trying to adopt without much success," Mr. Gandhi replied:

In my opinion non-violence is not passivity in any shape or form. Non-violence, as I understand it, is the most active force in the world.

Therefore, whether it is materialism or anything else, if non-violence does not provide an effective antidote, it is not the active force of my conception. . . . During my half-a-century of experience I have not yet come across a situation when I had to say that I was helpless, that I had no remedy in terms of non-violence.

Mr. Gandhi went on to discuss China, whose non-violence, he said, was not active non-violence. Her defence against Japan was proof that China was never intentionally non-violent. When the time came for testing her active non-violence she failed the test.

If the Chinese had non-violence of my conception [he said] there would be no use left for the latest machinery for destruction which Japan possesses.

How can non-violence combat aerial warfare, seeing that there are no personal contacts? The reply to this is that behind the death-dealing bomb there is the human hand that releases it, and behind that still, is the human heart that sets the hand in motion. And at the back of the policy of terrorism is the assumption that terrorism if applied in sufficient measure will produce the desired result, namely, bend the adversary to the tyrant's will.

But supposing people make up their mind that they will never do the tyrant's will, nor retaliate with the tyrant's own methods, the tyrant will not find it worth his while to go on with his terrorism.

### EVEN DICTATORS

Another visitor asked if it would not be playing into the hands of the dictators if, for instance, the Czechs confronted them with non-violence. Seeing that dictatorships are unmoral by definition, would the law of moral conversion hold good in their case?

In reply Mr. Gandhi said that it should be remembered that up to now dictators like Mussolini and Hitler had always found ready response to the violence that they have used.

"It is not only highly likely, but I hold it to be inevitable," he continued, "that they would recognize the superiority of non-violent resistance over any display of violence that they may be capable of putting forth."

# 4%

## AND INDIVIDUALITY

St. Pancras Building Society does not finance building schemes or grant high loans on the partial security of builders' "pools." It lends on sound individual mortgages of individual homes, not massed together in one estate but spread over a wide area. Can there be better security for your savings? The Secretary will be glad to send you the Society's "Guide for Investors" on request.

Managing Director: E. W. BALES

**ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY**  
ST. PANCRAS HOUSE, PARKWAY, N.W.1





## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

# More Views on Conscription :: Catholics and the Social System

THE excellent case which Max Plowman presented in last week's *Peace News* on the issue of "Pacifists and the Refugees" is, in my opinion, seriously marred by his concluding paragraph on the issue of the National Register. That paragraph makes one conscious of a regrettable tendency in the PPU of late to be exclusive. We all want every member of the PPU to toe our own particular line.

Max Plowman's letter reminds me of an experience of my boyhood. On a certain visit I was asked by the host whether I would have an apple or an orange, and when I said "an apple," he replied: "Oh, you don't like oranges, then?" That incident stands out as my first consciousness of something I later discovered was called logic, because I happened to be (and still am) passionately fond of both apples and oranges.

In order to press his claim in regard to the refugees, Max Plowman appears gravely to distort the issue of the campaign on the National Register in dubbing it an agitation for the saving of skins, whereas, as I understand it, its central purpose is identical with that of all PPU effort, viz., to enlighten the public on the meaning and effects of war. Max Plowman contrasts the two issues thus:

Self-concerned, self-defensive, looking for possible trouble in the future, while thousands of nationalist outcasts stand under the immediate sentence of doom.

My reply to that is this: Why injure your case for taking up the problem of settling the refugees by closing your eyes to the fact that this country also is travelling to a point when it too will have its battalions of outcasts? While the duty of curing is urgent, that of prevention is no less urgent. I hope the PPU will prove big enough to support both these vital duties.

WILFRED WELLOCK.  
Victoria Avenue, Quinton, Birmingham.

Max Plowman replies, page 5.

In your correspondence last week my recent statement in *Peace News* seems to have attracted a good deal of criticism, though I was by no means the only Sponsor to express this point of view. May I therefore try to explain more clearly what I meant?

It is obvious that the peace pledge involves resistance to war for each member of the PPU as an individual whenever the attempt is made to press him or her into war service. Whatever else the pledge may mean, it is clear that the taker of it cannot support or sanction a war by serving in it himself or furthering it in any way.

What I was discussing, however, was not the conscience of individuals, but the tactics of an organization. Mr. McCarthy of Southampton suggests that the PPU should join in the organized opposition to conscription because if conscription came our position would be precarious. Of course it would; and the more we go out of our way as an organization to campaign against conscription (as distinct from resisting it as individuals when we must), the more likely is our suppression to come very soon.

I see a spiritual as well as a practical danger for pacifists in violent campaigns "anti" this or that. They look to me uncomfortably like methods by which those who have renounced violence can indulge their natural human desire for a "scrap" without officially violating their consciences. To stimulate persecution and compel reluctant authority to anticipate the exercise of disciplinary action—may not this in itself constitute a provocative form of social warfare?

The job of the PPU is to unite individuals who are prepared for any reason whatsoever to renounce war as an instrument of policy. Since we cannot live in a political vacuum, the renunciation of war *inso facto* involves constructive organization for peace. In which way do we serve the cause of peace best—by getting ourselves suppressed as quickly as possible and becoming powerless as an organized body of opinion, or by continuing as long as we can, if war threatens or even is raging, to practice and advocate reason, conciliation and international contacts, to find out and disseminate truthful information as a counterblast to military propaganda, and to prepare the way for a new and early peace by negotiation.

By all means let the No Conscription League enlist those whose fighting spirit prefers campaigns of opposition rather

It is literally impossible to publish all the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of not more than 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

## Britain Must Speak

FRANCE has now declared her readiness to join in a constructive move to prevent the supreme crisis which all apprehend but none desires. "We are ready to ask tomorrow if we get the necessary support," says M. Bonnet, the Foreign Minister, "that there should be a conference to which all the nations desiring to organize peace should be invited."

Less than a month ago President Roosevelt re-affirmed America's historic offer to take counsel with all other nations of the world to the end that aggression among them may be terminated, the race in armaments cease, and commerce be renewed.

than the slow, difficult and unspectacular policy of formulating and explaining alternatives to war. But let the PPU—one of the very few organizations which exist for the purpose—do its own job of propagating in peace, and keeping alive if war comes, a philosophy of life in which war has no part.

VERA BRITAIN.  
2 Cheyne Walk, S.W.3.

In the January 20 issue of *Peace News*, Harold Bing asks some questions about National Service which pacifists should answer.

Let us take conscription first. All pacifists believe in the freedom of the individual, and are generally supporters of democracy because they believe that freedom stands a better chance of surviving under democratic institutions. It is, however, no argument for conscription that it is democratic, for in that case democracy is denying freedom, the cause of the existence of democracy, and if socialists or democrats find that conscription is the logical development of their system, they had better abandon their system rather than their principle.

It is distressing to find so many of your writers so aloof from this issue of conscription, for it augurs too much self-love and too little brotherly love to care about the shackles about to be imposed upon their less enlightened brethren.

Now with regard to National Service. When Mr. Bing argues that in the last war "there were some whose pacifism went only to the extent of refusing cooperation in the fighting services," he overlooks the fact that, whatever they eventually accepted under duress, they all went before tribunals asking for absolute exemption. The COs were not deluded about what was the ideal, they only differed in the extent to which they were prepared to suffer.

The same is true today. As Mr. Bing points out, the Government has never shown any desire for National Service in the struggle against unemployment, &c.—the sole purpose of the present National Service programme is to make England more efficient in war. As we pacifists do not believe in war, or in making ourselves more efficient for it, ergo—we oppose National Service, tooth and nail. How far the body of the pacifist will support his spirit we cannot say—but why do your writers consistently for the simple issue, and thereby encourage the weak-kneed to remain weak-kneed. That way is to invite doubt and disaster.

A. G. HIGGINS.  
The Brotherhood Church, Stapleton,  
Near Pontefract.

Dr. A. Herbert Gray, in stating that conscription is not inevitably inconsistent with democracy, takes for granted that our present form of government is democratic.

Under the three-party system, one party, representing a minority of electors, can, and commonly does, legislate contrary to the will of the majority. That is democracy standing on its hat.

The Tory Party, dubbing itself "National," adopted a League policy for the duration of one electioneering campaign—and for no longer. The peace ballot had shown the party managers the way the wind was blowing. Secure for five years, it promptly and consistently spiked the League's guns. A good three-quarters of the electorate was tricked, but has no power under the Constitution to eject the tricksters. How mighty is democracy! How the will of the people prevails!

I refuse to fight, anyway. If anyone says that as a member of a democracy I ought to do so, my answer is short: "Show me the democracy."

H. M. HARDMAN.  
15 Prospect Place, Ashton-on-Ribble,  
Preston, Lancs.

More Sponsors on Conscription, page 6.

What do we want Britain to say? In a few weeks' time the National Petition "for a new Peace Conference" will ask Mr. Chamberlain to make on Great Britain's behalf the fullest and most practical response to the offers of France and the United States. Several million British voices behind the petition should make this demand irresistible.

Will all your readers sign, and encourage their friends and neighbours to sign, without delay? Forms, &c., can be had from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

HENRY CARTER.  
1 Central Buildings, London, S.W.1.

## Sudetenland and Germany

I AM obliged to Mr. Greene for his reply to my letter, but still differ from him on his interpretation of history.

The ancient Czech kingdom of Bohemia was an independent State before Charlemagne started the Holy Roman Empire business, and stayed so till conquered by Austria (not Germany) in 1620. Lying on the menacing Slav border of the loosely held German territories, its relation to the Empire had been one of continual defensive wars against imperial aggression—wars in the main successful, though occasionally its king was temporarily reduced to the status of tribute-paying vassal.

Good King Wenceslaus and the other patriotic Bohemian rulers would turn in their graves if they read that their proud country had been 'part of Germany for 600 years.' During the three troubled centuries of Austrian rule (1620-1918) the nationalist spirit and movement was never crushed.

As to the German-speaking Sudeten Bohemians they were only discovered to be brethren by the German Reich quite lately, when Herr Hitler thought it would be nice to annex them. They used to be called contemptuously by Germans "die Böhmen."

When Herr Hitler frequently and somewhat shrilly demanded their "return to the Reich," he was either ignorant of history or deceitful; but do not let us endorse his solecisms.

ROSE MACAULAY.

Mr. Greene's answer to Miss Macaulay's letter in your last issue fills me with dismay. I am not surprised that he thought it wise to ignore her comment on the account in *Peace News* of the Nazi Jew-pogroms: that account was indefensible. But if his attitude to "information" really is what it would appear to be from his statements about Bohemian history, I am both surprised and dismayed.

I cannot in this letter set out even the barest facts of that history, which is very complex. But it must at least be put on record that his statements are ludicrously foolish. Even ignorance of history is no excuse for confusing "Germany" with the agglomeration of States which formed the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation—yet that apparently is what he does when he makes the airy remark that "there was even a time when Prague was the capital of Germany."

No doubt few people have time or desire, in these troubled days to make a study of the history of the Historic Provinces of Bohemia, and of the relations of Czechs and Germans since the time (in the twelfth century) when German immigration into what was then a Slav area began.

Ignorance is excusable. Rash and misleading statements, based on ignorance, are not. They imply an attitude toward facts (I avoid using the word "truth" since it bewilders Mr. Greene) which would have gratified the White Queen—"Why, sometimes I've believed as many as six impossible things before breakfast."

STORM JAMESON.

Reading.

Ben Greene replies, page 5.

## Aid for Refugees

Some hundreds of thousands of Spaniards will shortly be in danger of death unless they can leave Spain at once. This aggravation of the refugee problem makes it essential for more pressure to be put on the Government to float a loan of several million pounds and to initiate large-scale schemes of settlement of refugees.

In addition all refugees should be allowed to enter this country while arrangements are being made for them to go elsewhere. I hope that the Spanish Communists will be allowed to go to Russia.

R. S. W. POLLARD.

47 Barton Road, W.14.

MR. ORWELL raises several important and far-reaching points in his review of Mr. Sheed's *Communism and Man*. May I very briefly comment on two of them.

It is true that the Catholic Church teaches and upholds the lawfulness of private property and that it is desirable (to put it mildly) that every individual person or family should have a sufficiency of such property. But she does not deny that in abnormal and critical times that right may be abrogated, to avoid worse evils and in the interests of a whole people. And in fact at the present time there are responsible Catholics in England and France (and doubtless in other countries) who advocate, as a step toward a better state of affairs, that ownership of the means of production should be in the hands of the workers (all workers, not simply the "proletarians"). But obviously before these matters can be discussed it is necessary to agree on a definition of private property.

Secondly, Mr. Orwell, in his penultimate paragraph, implies that Franco, and no doubt Mussolini and Hitler, are upholders of the capitalist system as we know it. They may be. But I for one do not doubt that if and when that system stands in the way of the ambitions of any one of these so-called dictators it will be ruthlessly scrapped. (Lest I be misunderstood, may I add that I abominate the goings-on of all three of them—but I am no politician.)

A ROMAN CATHOLIC.

In his apt review of the above book, Mr. George Orwell gets down to fundamentals but seems not entirely to have grasped the Catholic position. There is no contradiction between Christian doctrine and a just social system, and when Mr. Orwell protests that "in practice, accepting the Catholic standpoint means accepting exploitation, poverty, famine, war and disease," he is incorrect; Catholics are not tied to a belief in the necessary permanence of indigence—the familiar text about the poor was clearly not prophetic—or other evils that are of human origin, but the Church, of course, stresses the supremacy of the spiritual and is not to be blamed if the reaction of individuals to her teaching is unsatisfactory.

Pacifists should beware of the error, widespread among socialists, that private property and capitalism are the cause of all war: private property, especially in land, should make men less susceptible to the coercion of State militarism, but such property needs limitation; and capitalism of itself does not produce international war but only when allied with nationalism.

Finally, Mr. Orwell considers it an anomaly that the Pope should denounce the evils of capitalism and yet approve of Franco. But most Catholics find it impossible to view the Spanish war as an episode caused by wicked militarists and capitalists attacking a beneficent government; the real tragedy is that, as ever in war, the wrong people are suffering for the actions of other individuals, and that the religion of the Franco element seems to be as much nationalism (and even imperialism) as Christianity.

JOHN NIBB.

BM/JONIB, London, W.C.1.

## Devon Campaign

Apropos Mr. E. C. Maddax's letter (*Peace News*, January 13) soliciting financial aid for his special campaign for intensive propaganda in the County of Devon I have received a very fine letter from him.

He says that although their activities may not have been reflected in a great number of new signatures yet it has created a new kind of peace outlook. They have the energy and courage but lack of funds is hampering them in getting our message into all the towns and villages.

As I have already sent a donation may I appeal to other readers who can afford to do so to kindly send something to ensure the success of this special campaign which is estimated to cost about £50.

The address is: E. C. Maddax, Devon Organizer, Dick Sheppard Centre, 47 East Street, Newton Abbot.

L. W. OLIVER.

23 Addington Road, Bow, London, E.3.



## The Colonies: A Summing Up

# Let Us Put An End To Empire,

says Reginald Reynolds

THE discussion on colonies must have proved perplexing. Some say colonies don't pay—mill-stones, they are!—but we must defend them, though it cost world war. Others, decrying imperialism, propose panaceas based on continued racial domination. Each says the colonial peoples support his own view: but few suggest that they should be seriously consulted, still less that they should decide...

Do colonies pay? It's hardly an ethical approach, but let us examine the question. The answer may help us to unscrew the inscrutable. Put it differently, first: Whom do they pay?

**They pay the Settlers**, who buy land cheap from the Government, which steals it from the natives (e.g., Kenya). Native reservations being insufficient, wages must be earned to pay taxes: that means cheap labour. Taxes again are spent disproportionately on Europeans.

**They pay British Investors**, who obtain concessions for mining, railways, &c. Government contracts tend to go to British firms...

**They pay British manufacturers, merchants and shipping companies.** Once more these are government contracts. Also tariff preferences (in India and most colonies), pace Sir Henry. Indeed, his figures prove my point, for he shows that about one-third of total colonial imports in 1937 were British. Without political control would any single country have obtained so high a proportion?

**They pay British banks**, which finance these ventures and profit on the exchange because London is the clearing house. The Rupee is so tied to the Sterling that every Rupee converted into (say) francs brings "us" a profit.

**They pay an army of British officials**, from the Viceroy downwards, receiving salaries often much higher than that of a British Cabinet Minister, and always utterly disproportionate to the average among the natives—which is much lower than it is here.

In my book *White Sahibs in India* I analysed all this in detail, citing the evidence in relation to that country. The huge dividends—often hundreds percent per year on the capital—speak for themselves. Out of these profits a proportion reaches the British Exchequer, for most of the companies concerned are registered in this country and pay their taxes at this end.

### The Debit Account

AND now for the Debit Account...

**Imperialism does not pay those who suffer or will suffer from "Coolie Competition."** For some years now factories have been growing up in the colonies, worked by cheap labour and free from restrictions which a democratic government would be compelled to impose upon them. Hence the jute industry leaves Dundee for Calcutta. Iron and steel are beginning to follow. Unemployment in Britain results, and a downward trend in wages "to meet competition." For those affected, imperialism does not pay.

**It does not pay the colonial peoples**, who produce the wealth from which the profits are made, whilst living themselves in scandalous poverty, deprived of liberty and subject to all the vindictive machinery of "law and order" if they raise their heads or their hands against their masters. True, a few of them—princes and chiefs, landlords, money-lenders and merchants—may fare well enough if they are "loyal." In the hierarchy of empire they can be very useful. But these are the exceptions.

**It does not pay the ordinary tax-payer**, who, with only a very indirect "interest," if any, in empire, must pay for vast armaments in order to protect somebody else's dividends in Hong Kong or Jamaica.

**It does not pay the millions of young men who will be killed**, in all parts of the world, in the next war to decide who shall bring peace and civilization to these ignorant savages. It does not pay all the other sufferers from past and future wars to defend this Empire.

And, finally, **it will not pay those who want democracy at home and despotism**

abroad. The Moors of Spanish Morocco decided that it made no difference to them who was in power, because Spanish democrats behaved as autocratically as Spanish fascists—where the colonies were concerned. When Franco offered them bribes and promises to march against Spain they felt that they were just "getting their own back."

### Not Our "Duty"

SUCH are the facts. What, then, should we advocate? To begin with, let us get rid of the idea that the Empire is a "trust." It is no more a "trust" than Abyssinia was "entrusted" to Mussolini; and if we have a "duty to remain" merely because we happen to be where we are, then the Italians have the same duty in Ethiopia and the Japanese in China.

I am not speaking here of countries already de-populated and inhabited today by other people. We are concerned with the actual populations of countries and

their rights. Even if I could accept the view that we are gradually making the Empire into a "Commonwealth of Free Nations"—and in such constitutions as we have given to India I see no evidence of this—I should still object to the assumption that the nature and rate of "progress" was to be determined by ourselves. That is the essence of dictatorship and racial domination.

I know the excuses. The colonial peoples are "children" and must be "educated for self-government." We are all children and all in sad need of that education; but why should the children with the most dangerous toys, after robbing their brothers and sisters, suddenly set up as parents and teachers?

"But if we left the colonies, some other country would seize them." Quick possibly, though it does not follow. If I do not rob my neighbour, or murder him, somebody else may—but even if it were a certainty it would not be a justification for my doing so. It might be considered a justification for protecting him—even by military

measures, if he asked for such protection and I believed in it. But, whether I protect him by physical force or try to set his enemy a better example, I cannot defend his liberty or his property by first depriving him of both. Nor can I defend his life by involving him in a war and shooting him if he revolts against my "protection."

### Where Solution Lies

THE solution of the colonial problem depends actually upon two developments. One is the growing movement for liberation among the colonial peoples; the other is the growth—as yet young—of a similar movement in the imperialist countries. Schemes to "hand over the colonies to Germany" and plans to "defend" them (as the communists and others would have us do) in the name of "democracy" are equally fatal, for both imply that the colonies are ours to give or keep.

Thus, in the French colonies, we have seen unparalleled repression carried out by a Popular Front Government which wished to "defend them against fascism!" Even an "International" Government, so long as it was a matter of white people ruling over coloured people, the latter in "tutelage," would be resisted and could only continue by using repressive measures. Autocracy pre-supposes violence.

The small minority of us in this country who repudiate the domination of nation by nation or of race by race cannot at this moment give full effect to our programme. But we can proclaim it from the house-tops and (refusing to be drawn into a controversy that does not concern us) make clear that ours is the only realist solution, because all others lead to oppression abroad, the decay of liberty at home and endless vistas of war in which we shall refuse to participate.

The emphasis of this final point, which may be made into a powerful deterrent is the most practical contribution which we can make at the moment.

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

#### Sudetenland and Germany: National Service or the Refugees?

In reply to the letters from Rose Macaulay and Storm Jameson printed on page 4, Ben Greene writes:

MISS JAMESON complains that she cannot set out even the barest facts of the history of Bohemia, and I am not surprised. It is just my point that a declaration that Sudetenland has never been part of the Reich is completely misleading unless these barest and very complicated facts of history are known.

I still persist, however, in my declaration that Sudetenland was part of Germany even if we refrain from calling the Holy Roman Empire a German nation. Miss Jameson cannot get away from the fact that a century ago the Holy Roman Empire had ceased to exist and yet Germany as it was understood then was the German Confederation which included both Bohemia and Moravia and therefore included Sudetenland.

With regard to Miss Macaulay's statement that the German-speaking Sudeten Bohemians were only discovered to be brethren of the German Reich quite lately, when Herr Hitler thought it would be nice to annex them, I must express surprise that such a statement could be seriously made, especially in such a controversy as this. I would ask Miss Macaulay to follow the advice she gave me and look up the facts. Professor Masaryk, late president of Czechoslovakia, writing in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1922 edition), said:

"On the day following the attainment of Czechoslovak independence, October 29, 1918, the Germans of Bohemia and Moravia—the so-called Sudetenland Germans—declared the districts where they predominated a province of the new Austrian State, which had been constituted some eight days previously. It was not until the treaty of St. Germain was concluded on September 10, 1919, and the Austrian Government released the Germans from the oath of allegiance they had taken to the new Austrian Republic, that the Germans desisted from openly fighting against incorporation in the Czechoslovak Republic. Their claim to self-determination was rejected by the Peace Conference."

This was long before Hitler was ever heard of. This was also when the Austrian Republic was known as the German Austrian Republic and its constitution said that "German Austria is a part of the German Republic"—till it was deleted and the name changed by order of the victorious Allies.

The reason I ignored the reference of Miss Macaulay to the description given by *Peace News* of the Nazi anti-Jew pogrom was that I did not make the original statement.

In reply to the letter from Wilfred Wellock on page 4, Max Plowman writes:

"WHY this exclusiveness?" That sounds to me like a question a refugee might ask. But it also happens to be mine. And I should frame it like this:

Why all this new organization to teach the Government its national duty while we, as pacifists, do nothing to awaken the Government to a sense of responsibility for the Sudeten refugees who have become refugees as a result of peace-preserving policy? Why, in a word, be exclusively self-concerned?

The refugees are the means through which pacifists may be active and positive in the creative business of peace-making; for it is these refugees who are propounding the great social and international question of the hour. I want to know the pacifist reply. And I don't at this moment particularly want to be telling the public what the Editor of *Peace News* or myself will do in the event of conscription when it comes; for I think conscientious objection is apt to look stupid and obdurate if it is not related to a very keen sense of social responsibility. For the pacifist, National Service, if it is resisted, is a negative matter of personal conscience upon which each one of us must act as he thinks best in the very complex conditions in which he may be placed.

So my advice remains: put the whole question of National Service in the background where the negations of individual conscience belong, and put in the foreground of pacifist propaganda, at the moment, the lives and liberties of the Sudeten refugees. In other words: get the horse before the cart if you want to make pacifism persuasive.

And as to my friend Wellock's apples and oranges, he surely wouldn't advocate eating them both at the same time! Especially while the Sudeten German is obliged to say: "Mine's a lemon!"

Max Plowman's contribution to our Symposium on Conscription appears on page 6.

#### Czech Minister's Tour of Lancashire

A CAMPAIGN of good will, the immediate objectives of which are:

- (a) Peace-making by personal friendship;
- (b) Funds for the crying needs of refugees;
- (c) First-hand information about Czechoslovakia,

has been organized by the Mosley Common Methodist Peace Group. The Rev. Josef Stifter, of Prague, arrived in England recently to take a leading part in the campaign.

Nineteen meetings have been arranged mostly in churches, but including seven large rallies of all the Anglican and Free Churches of an area.

The Rev. Josef Stifter is a minister of the Free Church of Bohemian Brethren Unity—a Protestant Church. He is of Czech nationality and was born in a little town of Southern Bohemia in 1881. He was of Roman Catholic parentage, but was converted to the Protestant faith in his youth by an American missionary. He became a book-seller and then a mission worker. He is now a minister in charge of a church in Prague.

The people of Manchester have now an opportunity of hearing of the vast changes in Czechoslovakia from a native of that country. Mosley Common Church believes that many people will desire to join in a gesture of friendship to Czechoslovakia.

#### Peaceful Pact Was The Big News of 1938

The prize-winner in a "Biggest News Stories of 1938" ballot organized by the *Daily Express* cited the Anglo-Eire Agreement as outstandingly important.

"It shows," he wrote, "that there is still common sense and peaceableness left in the minds of some statesmen. The pact is extraordinary because it is the first gleam of cordiality between two neighbours who have not been on 'speaking terms' for 700 years."

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

## The Editor's Point of View

### Refuse To Be "Made Ready"

**I**N a world in which everyone prepares for war while declaring his desire for peace, it is not surprising that the statesmen who declare that war is not inevitable are themselves helping to make it so. Not that war on a big scale is inevitable. On the contrary, it is most unlikely!

It is primarily unlikely because people will not have it. No-one will be so foolish as to suppose that any large body of pacifist opinion hindered the declaration of war in September. Had such a body existed, it would have done more than merely prevent war then: it would now be offering effective resistance to the drift to conscription.

Nevertheless, if people generally do not yet really want (in any proper sense of the word "want") an active peace policy based on sharing the world's wealth, cooperating in its exploitation, and sacrificing (rather than demanding) when difficulties arise, neither do they want (in any sense of the word) war. And whatever else they may have had in mind at Munich, the statesmen certainly knew that. This week has brought further, particularly striking evidence of that. It is to be seen in the remarkable unanimity of the appeals made in this country, Germany, and Italy in support of warlike measures.

The Rome correspondent of *The Times* put it most plainly in describing the function of the Italian press in stirring up hatred of France as being "to strengthen Italy's bargaining power by putting the nation in a pugnacious mood so that it may be ready to fight France if need be" (my italics). He added:

Dictators do not have to trouble about votes of Parliament, but they do have to be sure of their support. SIGNOR MUSSOLINI knows very well that last September Italians would not have relished fighting in a quarrel which was not their own. To that extent Italy's position was weak. He wishes to make quite certain that at the next diplomatic trial of strength his people will be ready to march with a will.

On Monday, in the German Reichstag, HERR HITLER referred again to "the Edens and Churchills" who "aim at stirring up public opinion" against his people. He repeated that these people might one day be in the Government of their country, and added:

The German nation has no hatred against Britain, America, or France; but these nations are being continually stirred up to hatred of Germany. Hence forward the German propaganda and press will make a point of replying to all attacks and above all of bringing them to the notice of the German people.

Only the politeness that refuses to name the enemy, and variation of wording, distinguished MR. CHAMBERLAIN's effort at Birmingham on Saturday, from these efforts of the dictators to create an artificial willingness for war by painting a picture of a threat of unprovoked aggression. This is how he put the same poisonous idea:

We cannot forget that though it takes at least two to make a peace, one can make a war... It is for this purpose, for the purpose of defence and not of attack, that we are pursuing the task of rearmament with unrelenting vigour and with the full approval of the country.

★

From relying on unintelligence, MR. CHAMBERLAIN has thus moved to relying on a baseless superstition. *It simply is not true* that one can make a war. One man can hit another man, and the people of one country can, conceivably, invade another country. But a fight does not begin until the other man hits back, nor a war until the invading people are forcibly resisted.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN may think that the results of an unresisted invasion are worse than the results of a war, and he is entitled to express that view—though if he did, the Czechs would want to know why, then, he so callously saved them and Europe from war in September. He is not entitled to misrepresent the facts in a way that is calculated to have the most deplorable effect upon his fellow countrymen.

The word "calculated" is used advisedly. For this misrepresentation of facts is designed to have a similar effect to that of the propaganda of Germany and Italy among their peoples. It is designed "to make us ready for war"—because he knows that, so far from being ready for war, we are not even ready to admit that war is an occupation worthy of men.

More precisely—as he said last week—this desire "to make us ready for war" is directed toward fitting us all into our respective places as cogs in the total war machine that is so beautifully labelled "national service." How in keeping with this beauty—and with that of the innocence which surrounds the purpose of the whole thing—if we would all slip quietly into our places without any fuss. How unkind to point out that it remains a war machine—with all that that means, for example, in regimentation, before ever the horror involved in using the machine begins—whether we willingly or are made to become parties to it.

Since (to quote *The Times* the day after MR. CHAMBERLAIN launched the latest effort) "it must not be thought, just because responsible statesmen have decided to try out the voluntary system, that anything short of a practically universal response will suffice," the insidious attitude on the part of employers who tell their staffs to join up or lose their jobs is merely anticipation of the sort of thing we can expect.

Nor does the bitter experience of the War years encourage us to put much faith in ministerial assurances. In July, 1915, the Minister in charge of the National Registration Bill, gave a distinct pledge that it was not a prelude to conscription: within a week he himself had denied that the Government was in any way tied by pledges not to use the Act for the purpose of compulsion; and six months later MR. BALFOUR was saying, even of the first Military Service Bill, (which already conscripted single men): "I do not believe this Bill is the thin end, or by any conceivable turn of the wheel of fortune can be made the thin end, of the wedge of a universal system of conscription." But it came, just the same. And today our ministers more frankly admit that it will come in war time, if not before.

But today, too, some people at least are seeking to profit by the lesson. And still more, rightly unconcerned with whether or not compulsion is intended, are refusing the so-called national service demand because they refuse to be made ready for war. Many will inform the Government of their refusal on the forms enclosed in the National Service handbooks. It is to be hoped that, whether they also state it there or state it only in action, they will at the same time make clear their determination to work for an active peace policy, beginning by strengthening the ranks of those who will resist all attempts to make them even temporarily, or in any circumstances, "want" war.

**Humphrey S. Moore**

# CONSCRIPTION: A Final Selection of Views

By J. MIDDLETON MURRY,  
Sponsor of the P.P.U.

**A**N anti-conscription campaign seems to me obsolete and irrelevant.

In modern war (above all in a densely-populated country like this) there will be nothing to choose in point of danger between national service as a combatant and as a civilian.



Therefore, any modern measure of conscription will offer alternative service. I do not see how the pacifist, as such, can oppose such a measure. Naturally, by saying that a pacifist should not oppose conscription which offers alternative service, I do not mean that he should support it. I mean simply that it is not a matter of primary importance for the pacifist.

I am in entire agreement with George Lansbury's words: "I tell people that if they are prepared for war, they must accept national service, conscription and the rest of it." By uniting with non-pacifists in opposition to the introduction of national service, pacifists will blur the moral issue, and suggest to simple folk that their real concern is not so much to prevent war as to prevent themselves from being caught in it.

I think pacifists have their own line to take, and their own work to do—first, to arouse men's imagination to the inevitability of war in the kind of society in which they are content to live, and second, to do what they can on a voluntary basis to relieve suffering and to begin the work now.

By MAX PLOWMAN,  
Sponsor of the P.P.U.

**M**Y view of the Peace Pledge Union is of a great popular movement—religious, social, political and philosophic—of people who have come to the definite conclusion that in all circumstances war is no good at all and who have, therefore, turned right round and made it their deliberate intention to seek peace and to discover the ways—religious, social and political—to ensure peace at all costs to themselves.

Thus the PPU is a pacifist as distinct from a war-resistant movement: positive and social, not negative and self-regarding; creative and constructive, not merely obstructive and resistant to the existing order. It is an active society of pacifists, not an immobile society of conscientious objectors. The clue to its activity is always to be found in the search for the alternative activity to war, and its members are entitled to consider themselves pacifists only in so far as they are persistently engaged in that activity, which will be religious, social, political, or all three, according to the appropriate necessity of the time.

That is what I think the PPU is and should be. Conscientious objection is simple; but as a conscientious objector perhaps I am entitled to say that, socially speaking, it is also stupid. Pacifism is the effort to correct this stupidity by the persistent effort of creative activity. It is concerned primarily with the peace of the world and supremely unconcerned with any form of self-defence.

What happens to peace matters everything: what happens to the individual pacifist matters nothing at all to him; he is no more concerned with resistance than St. Paul was concerned to resist or evade the edicts of imperial Rome. His witness will be persuasive according to the measure in which he throws himself whole-heartedly into the effort to win peace and security for others, and does not seek or claim peace, safety, or infallibility for himself. All his negations should be merely consequential.

Niemöller stands for Christianity—not for anti-Fascism. Pacifists stand for peace—not anti-Conscription.

Personally I will undertake any form of National Service that I judge to be pacific in intention; but I must be left entirely free to judge for myself when any particular activity becomes a dis-service to peace. That resolves itself into a question of individual conscience and individual intention, and is the concern of the individual and of nobody else.

To be concerned about it collectively is to be wrongly—because negatively—oriented. To pacifism it doesn't matter. What is important and all-important to pacifism is any and every activity making for peace—demonstrating human brotherhood and solidarity by demanding life for Refugees, for instance.

By Dr. ALFRED SALTER, M.P.,  
Sponsor of the P.P.U.

**I**T is quite time that a No Conscription League was formed to combat the propaganda of the militarists and to organize all those, of whatever shade of political or religious opinion, who are opposed to compulsory military service. Let us make the public realize what misery, cruelty, and wrong a Conscription Act will entail.

I could have wished that the PPU would have undertaken this urgently needed work and have led the van, as I know many of its members expected it to do. I understand, however, that at their January meeting the Sponsors did not feel able to take this position, though I hope that the PPU will associate itself actively with the new body.

The Labour Party, as such, is far too deeply compromised by its support of Rearmament to be able to play any effective part in the campaign.

During the discussions in Parliament on the National Register one Tory speaker said: "The Government must have control of the whole of the man power and the whole of the labour power of the nation." That, of course, is fascism pure and simple. It is the idea behind the minds of most of those who are clamouring for a compulsory Register. The latter is merely an indispensable preliminary to industrial and military conscription.

My own strong impression is that the prospect of war will steadily recede during the coming months. That will mean that the general public will become much more apathetic to the recruiting appeals for volunteers for ARP and war services. In spite of the beating of the big drum, in spite of Albert Hall meetings with Herbert Morrison as one of the chief speakers, in spite of all the Lord Privy Seal's efforts, the response will be quite inadequate.

There will then be a raging demand from the conscriptionists, but in three months' time it will be more difficult to create a new panic or a widespread cry for compulsion, especially if we get to work at once, educate the public mind about the dangers of fascist regimentation, and seize every opportunity to preach our own pacifist philosophy.

By WILLIAM BALLANTINE,  
Chairman, No Conscription League;  
Member of Executive, National  
Union of Railwaymen

**T**HE news that the National Council of Labour had agreed to advise their members to cooperate in the National Register scheme came as a shock to the rank and file. The need became apparent for an organized force to coordinate opposition to conscription. The No Conscription League supplies that need.

It is disastrous at this stage that the organized Labour Movement has signed away its independence. Never was there greater need for complete independence of policy and action, in the working class movement. To accept the view that they must support the National Register in order

(Continued on page 11)



# THE ECONOMIC ROAD TO PEACE

## London Conference Studies Finance, Colonies, Migration and Food Problems

"WISH conference great success. Only economic and territorial equity and justice between nations can give the world peace," was the message contained in a telegram sent by George Lansbury, M.P., to the conference on "The Economic Road to Peace," when it opened in Friends House, London, last Thursday. Another telegram, from Mr. W. T. Day, of the Institute of Export, pointed out that the conference opened on the anniversary of the Van Zeeland Report.

Mr. S. Sigmund Metz, author of *New Money for New Men*, spoke at the first session on "Financial Reform under a New Order." In an analysis of the various forms of monetary transactions and the evils attending them, he declared that the existence of unbridled competition meant restriction of production, and that full production was not possible without planning. "Money should be removed from the list of commodities and added to the list of weights and measures, so that we may valorize, as well as measure and weigh, goods and services of human worth," said Mr. Glyn Thomas, speaking on "Monetary Control—Public or Private." "The public do not know that the banks put money into circulation that has cost them nothing, or that the banks demand from the population interest on this valueless money."

### Debt Produces Discord

Speaking on "National Debt or National Credit," Mr. William B. Higgs quoted Mr. Chamberlain's remark at a City function in December that when the German leaders contemplate war they think of our financial might, and he questioned the implied assertion that financial power could bring peace—or at any rate that it would be the kind of peace we wanted to see established in the world.

The nation, he said, was paying £240,000,000 every year in interest on money created out of nothing by the banks as credit. "If in its national aspect this system aims at entangling people in debt, internationally it aims at entangling other nations in debt. It has produced discord among the nations. Mr. Chamberlain's assertion, therefore, cannot be supported."

Mr. Alexander McGlashan described steps to monetary control taken recently in New Zealand.

At the Friday morning session Dr. G. T. Wrench, author of *The Causes of War and Peace*, spoke on "World Agriculture and the Problem of Nutrition." Speaking of the financing of national development in Italy, Dr. Rafeti, of the Italian Chamber of Commerce, said that self-sufficiency did not necessarily aim at a closed economy but at "organizing the national economy in accordance with national needs."

### Nazi Economics

"The Nazi system of economy is based on, and to a great extent due to, rearmament," said Mr. T. Balogh, of University College, London. If there was a decrease in the demand for German goods abroad, Germany could either reduce the national income—"the old-fashioned method"—or she could give subsidies, as in fact she does.

He did not believe that concessions from the Haves to the Have-nots would lead to appeasement: "Germany could live peacefully if she would, and if she would, she could live very well."

In answer to questions, Mr. Balogh declared that there was absolutely no difference between the form in which money was issued and existed in Germany and that in this country. The only difference was in who used it—the State in the case of Germany, private individuals in this country.

In the discussion, Mr. Stuart-Barr, secretary of the Free Economy Federation of Great Britain, said: "In Germany they are making money

effective—in the wrong way. We must make it effective for useful work or we shall get it in the neck from countries making it effective for arms."

### Property versus Government

Dealing with the imperial problem, Mr. A. K. Chesterton said there were two powers—government and big-scale capitalism, representing respectively human values and property. The rule of the former should be extended into the economic sphere to ensure economic law and decency.

International trade tended to reduce the wealth of nations. It moved, not in response to human needs, but to furnish interest on debt and to open up fresh fields of exploitation.

To surrender our colonies, he said, would be suicidal for Britain and the colonies, while to put them under the present League of Nations would be to put them under the control of the robber financiers.

Mr. D. Ailhusen, author of *The Master Problem*, described how international trade had come to be carried on "for the sake of increasing the debt" owed by importing countries to exporting countries, so that an excess of exports over imports was now regarded as a favourable balance of trade.

"We must reform our financial system," he said, "by making room for foreign goods, as well as home-produced goods; and that must be done by the only possible method—by increasing purchasing power."

The problems of agriculture were dealt with at the Saturday morning session by Mr. T. V. Holmes and Mr. C. Howard Jones.

Speaking on "Financial Self-Determination for the Dominions," Dr. J. Ewart Purves said that each colony received goods, did not pay for them, and so piled up debt, the "good" colonies being those that paid the interest regularly. The question of repaying the capital did not arise.

Mr. Theodore Faithful suggested that we needed to restart migration into the Empire, but that it was necessary that the Dominion Governments should control their own financial machinery. He did not visualize his scheme as being restricted to Britain: the migrants could come from other lands into the Empire.

### Treatment of Germany

At the Saturday evening session in Central Hall, Westminster, Ben Greene referred to the great power of the financial magnates. Out of every £1 spent on the War, 10s. had gone to private profit. We had again to conquer our own democratic rights, and the right to feed our own people.

Dr. Maude Royden, referring to the fact that Germany today was said to be on the verge of economic collapse, said that some people wanted to push her over the edge, thinking it would help to end the Nazi regime. But actually a threat from outside would "close the ranks" inside Germany. It was their own poverty which had driven the Germans to persecute the Jews. After what we had done to Germany were we free from blame?

Dr. Emil Ludwig, however (who was interrupted on several occasions), suggested that "had the Germans been treated with consideration, German rearmament would have surprised the world ten years earlier" than it did. The German-Italian-Japanese coalition "must be faced with threats."

Ben Greene rose again to dissociate himself completely from Dr. Ludwig's remarks.

### On Bombing

In a recent lecture to the Royal United Service Institution on the psychological effects of bombing, Dr. E. D. Strause said:

Retaliation would not be psychologically sound and, therefore, not strategically sound. However many towns we bombed we should not win the war that way. Common suffering and common hatred of the bomber would be a most effective way of uniting sections of the enemy people. We should do better to drop propaganda leaflets on them.

### These Resolutions Were Carried

In addition to a resolution urging the organizers to continue the work initiated by the conference, the following resolutions were passed at the public meeting which concluded the conference:

1. That this conference, recognizing that many of the ultimate causes of war are inherent in the present financial system which allows world wide poverty and economic insecurity whilst at the same time compelling output restriction and wasting of natural resources, calls for a reversal in the direction of economic policy so as to ensure that the available and potential abundance can be distributed to meet the essential needs of poverty-stricken humanity.

2. This conference looks forward to the day when the British Empire, having put its own house in order, will be able to invite all nations to a World Peace Conference with the object of establishing peace on the firm foundation of plenty.

## "Fantastic Folly" of World Arms Burden

THE arms race has provoked even the *Daily Telegraph* to a warning against "the present prodigious squandering of the wealth of nations on the creation of instruments for their mutual destruction." Anything so fantastic," it said in a leading article, "would be hard to find in the annals of human folly."

It pointed out that, in 1937, "according to the *League of Nations Armaments Year Book*, the aggregate world expenditure on armaments was estimated at £2,400,000,000, a figure which probably errs, if anything, on the low side. At the existing rate of expansion it can be only a matter of a year or two till the £3,000,000,000 mark is reached."

The *Daily Telegraph* must have missed the various constructive proposals that have been put forward, for it bemoaned the fact that we dared not hope to return even to the world expenditure of 1932—£1,300,000,000—which was "sufficiently colossal" but which today seemed "an ideal to which we would all of us only too gladly return if we could."

There followed this warning: "No one can refrain from asking himself how much longer the nations can go on standing not only the material but the psychological strain"—and the quotation of Mr. Chamberlain's admission that the resources being exhausted on armaments "should properly be devoted to the advancement of the prosperity and happiness" of the people.

## Towards a New World Conference

## PETITION DRIVE IN LONDON'S WEST-END

A SPECIAL scheme to collect signatures for the National Petition for a new Peace Conference is being organized by members of the Peace Pledge Union on Saturday, February 25—the last day of the Petition Week being observed in many parts of the country. (The Petition is under the auspices of the National Peace Council, in conjunction with the PPU and many other national bodies.)

For use on the day in question a leaflet is being prepared, informing the public that the Petition may be signed that evening outside various Underground Stations and other prominent buildings throughout the West End of London.

For this scheme 500 volunteers are required between 6.30 p.m. and 11.30 p.m. at the headquarters of the PPU. Names of those intending to take part should be sent as soon as possible to the PPU at 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

### SPECIAL POSTER PARADES

There will be special poster parades in support of the Petition from the Dick Sheppard Club, Thomas Street, W.1, at 6.45 p.m. on Monday next, and from 96 Regent Street tomorrow (Saturday) week at 6.45 p.m. and 8.45 p.m.

Each of 3,000 Ministers in the Church of Scotland is shortly to receive material explaining the purpose of the Petition. This is being done with the help of a group of individuals in Scotland who are undertaking all the clerical work in connexion with the task. Each minister will receive a copy of a special communication from Dr. Hutchison Cockburn, Convener of the "Church and Nation" Committee of the Church of Scotland, commending the Petition to his fellow Ministers.

The Union of Post Office Workers is sending the Petition to each of its 1,500 branches. The Glasgow Council of the League of Nations Union is sending 5,000 forms to its members in Glasgow.

Birmingham will begin next week the series of house-to-house canvasses in larger centres which it is hoped will double the amount of support which the Petition has already secured.

## PLAYING THE GAME



THE game of life has its victories and its code of conduct. If you value honesty and fair play you will seek to apply those principles in your daily life. As for instance in the purchasing of your daily needs, food, clothing, etc.

Have you ever considered the possible influence of your buying, its possibilities for good? It can guarantee fair play for producer, distributor and purchaser (expressed in good wages and conditions and full value). You can secure this by shopping at the Co-operative Store and buying C.W.S. goods, products of the

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### Next Week

## THE REFUGEE PROBLEM



## The Pacifist's Bookshelf

### SERFDOM OF THE PRESS

Fascism, Democracy and the Press. By Kingsley Martin. (National Council for Civil Liberties, 320 Regent Street, W.1. Price 6d.)

THE preservation of the freedom of the Press, which it is often thought had been secured for ever by struggle in the 18th and early 19th Centuries, has recently assumed a new importance.

During the last two or three years attempts have been made unofficially to induce newspapers to refrain from publishing certain items of information. The Official Secrets Acts, which the Government of the day assured the House of Commons was passed only to deal with spying and attempts at spying, has in several cases been used to limit the freedom of journalists, and, despite the almost unanimous demand of newspapers and journalists, the Government has so far not granted facilities for Mr. Dingle Foot's Amending Bill.

The Incitement to Disaffection Act 1934, and the libel and other laws are making printers more and more cautious as to what they will print. It is, therefore, particularly valuable to have this restatement of the principle of the freedom of the Press.

It contains a most useful analysis of the Official Secrets Act so far as it affects the Press and limits its freedom. Prepared with the aid of legal experts, it furnishes an analysis of the cases in which these Acts have been used against the Press.

This work should be in the hands of everybody who appreciates the significance of the Press in our social and economic life, or is concerned to maintain freedom of expression of opinion.

R. S. W. POLLARD

## He Would Not Fight

We Will Not Cease. By Archibald Baxter. Gollancz. 7s. 6d.

HERE is a book rendered immediately topical by its very belatedness. These reminiscences of a New Zealand conscientious objector in the Great War read less like a record of twenty years ago than a portent of the likely fate of those who share his views in the years (or months?) that lie ahead.

His book begins with the taking of the National Register in 1915, and the consequent introduction of Conscription the following year. The sympathetic reader in 1939 starts, as it were, from scratch.

Baxter had, he tells us, "many years before the war . . . reached the point of view that war—all war—was wrong, futile and destructive alike to victor and vanquished." His approach was rational: "I belonged to no organized church and did not base my beliefs on the teachings of any sect."

He was alone, desperately alone—or so he thought. There was no Labour Party. Only an occasional radical here and there raised a protesting voice against the war. Great Britain, with its strong body of objectors, was far away.

Arrested and thrown into jail, he gradually met others who were adopting the same attitude, and realized that he was one of a small but determined body of men, in all lands, who were resolved to have no part in this outmoded method of settling disputes between nations.

The bulk of the book is taken up with a fully detailed account of his shipment to the Front, where he suffered every conceivable indignity and outrage, even undergoing that quintessential military torture, Field Punishment No. 1. Reading the barbarities perpetrated by the British military one thinks mechanically of Nazi Germany. The beatings, the insults, the denial of the most elementary human rights, suffered by this group of New Zealand objectors are

every bit as horrible to read of as the worst of the Nazi excesses. There were some who died from their maltreatment.

And what was the purpose of it all?

"He [an officer] said I must know, myself, that I would be beaten eventually; I must know that I would be broken."

"And if I am broken, what good should I be to the authorities or anyone else?"

"That doesn't concern us. It's your submission we want, Baxter, not your services."

What interested me most in this book was to try to discover the source of the stoicism which enabled Baxter to see it through, without compromising his stand by so much as obeying an unimportant military order. I have heard it so often said that in war, or in some other comparable testing time, a man who has only his reason to stand by him will crumple under the tyranny imposed on him. This was not the case with Baxter, nor was it the case with hundreds of others who had only their convictions and their physical strength to support them.

It would seem that it is not the nature of the conviction—religious or rational—but the strength of it that matters. Men like Baxter did not draw inspiration from any mystical conception of a God, but from an unshakable rational conviction that could be ended only by death.

This book will be an inspiration to many who now see in the National Register the forerunner of Conscription, and in the steadily deteriorating international situation the possibility of a testing time ahead.

In one of his answers to a military interrogator Baxter replied: "We hope by our action to make some of those people [those who were opposed to the war but did not assume conscientious objection], at any rate, stand to their convictions, for only by bringing people to our point of view and getting them to stand to their convictions shall we ever achieve our ideal." He may rest assured that in this readable, unadorned narrative of his own magnificent stand he disposes of what remnants there may still exist of the illusion that more courage is called for in the battlefield than in the resolute, non-violent witness for humanity against barbarism.

Andrew Stewart

# Democratic Giant

By VERA BRITAIN

Franklin Roosevelt—His Life and Achievement. By Basil Maine. John Murray. 10s. 6d.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has recently figured so conspicuously in the news that this easy and pleasant description of his career should find many readers.

The author, being a music critic and essayist rather than a politician, has, without disadvantage to the ordinary reader, omitted much technical material that a more politically-minded writer would have put in. As a friend of the Roosevelt family, Basil Maine has stayed at both the White House and the "farm" belonging to the President's mother at Hyde Park on the Hudson.

His portrait is nevertheless not an intimate portrait; it does not even recreate for me the man with whom I talked for ten unforgettable minutes in Washington a year ago. Lacking those small vivid details of character and conduct which only long acquaintance can memorize, it is the book of a respectful visitor rather than a close friend.

For me its chief interest lies in its sensitive awareness of underlying psychological factors. The description, for example, of Roosevelt's fortunate early circumstances

and the overwhelming strength of his youthful ambition makes clear, without any shrill statement, that he misunderstood to the point of obtuseness his young wife and the needs of their growing family.

The grave attack of infantile paralysis, which crippled him just at the time when "his only problem was how to find outlets for his uproarious energy," was the turning point of his career in more senses than one. Not only did it give the great fight of his life to a personality which thrived on the conquest of obstacles yet had hitherto been immune from human suffering; it brought him understanding of the pain and fatigue which every mother of a large family must undergo.

In her turn Eleanor Roosevelt, through helping him to overcome the fate which had descended on him, lost the censoriousness natural to one whose life had been guided by narrow conceptions of domestic duty. His illness won him her support in politics and thus revolutionized her career as well as his own.

The book makes quite evident the fact that Roosevelt is not a pacifist; his well-known interest in naval matters is described from his early preoccupation with naval history to the Great War, when as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in Wilson's administration he placed large orders for increased naval material several weeks before Congress had given consent.

None the less, this study, like others of its kind, portrays the President as the peace-loving leader of a people which, of all the great nations, has the strongest antipathy to War. After Wilson returned from the Peace Conference in Paris, Roosevelt took part in the campaign to make the United States a member of the League of Nations, sometimes speaking twenty times a day even after he knew that the cause was lost.

A strong humanitarian, the persistent champion of the "underprivileged," and the only living democrat whose personal stature transcends that of the dictators, Roosevelt represents the old-type Liberalism of the French Revolution. His recent message to Congress shows how clearly he recognizes that the revolutionary conflict for freedom and democracy must be fought and won all over again by pacifists and other men of good will if civilization is to survive.

THE VIEWS OF CONTRIBUTORS MUST NOT BE ASSUMED TO REPRESENT THE POLICY OF "PEACE NEWS" OR OF THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION.

## Another Step Back to 20,000

AN Aberdeen reader, Mr. W. Robertson, has found a way to have *Peace News* sold on the streets by the regular newsboys.

Having decided which were the two most important stances in the city, he interviewed the sellers at those points, saying that he would give them each three free copies for sale at 2d. each, provided they would display a contents bill. If one of the newsboys sells out he has to refer any further customers to one of the others.

Each week Mr. Robertson will see that varied pacifist literature is inserted in the papers—and, occasionally, peace pledge cards. (To check how many new pledges are received from this source he will mark each one "Peace News.") He writes:

"Having then demonstrated the possibility of having *Peace News* posters thus prominently displayed, (and they must display them to sell the papers), I shall endeavour to get other members to pay 2d., 4d., 6d., or 1s. per week until we have all the newsboys at the job."

"The scheme is thus, as you can see, capable of unlimited expansion and if it can be done in Aberdeen it can be done in any town."

Thanks, Mr. Robertson! This plan will help us to get those extra readers we need (about 2,000) to get our circulation back to the 20,000's.

This is the third reader's sales scheme we have described recently. Have you adopted one of them yet?

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## SPEAKING PERSONALLY

## Let Us Loosen the Bonds Of Exploitation

**B**EFORE we can achieve a state of just and equitable cooperation, we must first disengage ourselves from the system of exploitation. The powers of violence are impotent without the cooperation of labour; wealth is produced by work not by pound notes.

We have a twofold tie with capitalist society. First in what we spend; every time we exchange a piece of paper for something we want we are morally responsible for conditions of abject slavery somewhere. And we find more and more that we are required to contribute part of our work, either directly or through taxation, toward the more theatrical form of violence which is occasionally necessary to prevent the system of exploitation from collapsing.

"You have nothing to lose but your chains," said Marx to the proletariat. And of course, the totally dispossessed class is the natural material for a revolutionary movement. Unfortunately, there is no proletariat in England. England is a middle-class nation—its working class lives in India and Africa.

Owing to our position as the financial hub of the Empire, and to some extent of the world, we have an inordinately large

says  
**NIGEL SPOTTISWOODE**

proportion of office workers, bank clerks, solicitors and other varieties of bourgeoisie; and even the man on the dole has a lot more to lose than his chains.

Furthermore, we are productively lopsided to a fantastic degree. We are only self-supporting in milk and potatoes, and each year a quarter of a million acres of productive life-giving land are buried beneath the pavements of the new cities. We are beating our ploughshares into telephone exchanges and our pruning-hooks into bombers.

The mother country of a financial empire becomes an office and an armoury. The materials for our food and our clothing come from the ends of the world, and we retain only those of our industries which for climatic or other reasons cannot be exported to sources of cheaper labour.

It will not be easy to free ourselves from the hand which so liberally feeds us; but

Gandhi combated this by a twofold policy. First a boycott in India of British-produced cotton, and secondly a revival of the village spinning. His success depended largely on the fact that the peasants were still living on locally-grown food; another important aspect of his work being agitation for a reform of the land tenure system.

But in England we haven't had village industries for donkey's years, and attempts to revive them are in the nature of mere arty-craftiness. Our first step must be to make ourselves less dependent on the war society for our essential maintenance—food, shelter, and heat.

Individually we can't do much: you can't grow much food on an asphalt back-yard that doesn't belong to you. You can, however, cut down expenditure on imperially-sweated non-essentials—tobacco perhaps, even tea and coffee. If there are 50,000 active PPU members with an average income of £2 per week, then the annual income from our collective labour is over £5,000,000.

At the present time this all goes back into society for the purchase of consumable goods. A small proportion of it (about one-fifth percent) goes via the PPU, thus doing some useful propaganda work on its way. If we could only use even a small proportion of our collective expenditure for the purchase of productive property (e.g., land in the first instance) we should be on the way toward freeing ourselves.

★

**T**HERE is one obvious direction in which geographically situated groups of people can save, and that is on rent. If several people live together, both rent and living expenses are reduced. Several groups are already combining virtue with necessity and living in small communities, thus reducing expenses and also cultivating and giving expression to the feeling of fellowship which is an integral part of pacifism.

If pacifism is to become a real moral and political force in the country we must be able to give an adequate answer to the eternal question "What are you doing?" At present, if we are honest, we can only say we're talking—like other political parties; we can also say that at some hypothetical future date we may individually refuse to join the armed forces—that is if we're ever asked to.

But we know quite well that this doesn't really cut much ice. And even if it did, it would be dangerous, for it would suggest to the public that if they voted for a policy of disarmament and a world conference, peace would be achieved. And that would lead us into the same dangers that have reduced all other reformist parties to impotence.

But there is a way in which each group of the PPU can become a real living force in its locality, which I shall discuss in my final article.

## SHALL WE JOIN FRANCE'S CONSCRIPT ARMY?

(continued from page 1)

frank acknowledgement that the scheme is preparation for war, the propaganda has been carefully calculated not to emphasize the military character of the duties for which some 1,800,000 volunteers are sought.

Sir John Anderson, in his foreword to the booklet, says: "The call is to peace and not to war. We have no thought of aggression; our one wish is to live at peace with all peoples."

Yet of the 68 groups of occupations offered in the booklet 43 are directly associated with one branch or another of the Armed Forces, the remainder consisting of passive duties as ARP wardens, decontamination and demolition squads, first aid, watchers, and the like.

With the present personnel of the Forces, with the completion of the rearmament programme, with the industrial conscription of the 6,000,000 workers in reserved occupations, and with the enrolment of the 1,800,000 "National Service" volunteers, the Government, it must be presumed, would feel ready to resort to war.

This, in spite of the repeated confessions by members of the present Government, including the Prime Minister himself, that war on the modern scale would ruin both sides and would not solve any of the real issues in dispute!

Lord Baldwin has again placed on record his disillusionment with the war method. Speaking at Worcester on Tuesday, he said:

"I abominate war. War is a wicked thing; it is more than that, it is a foolish and futile thing, because it can settle nothing."

"Why then prepare for it?" rational men ask in bewilderment.

## Tribute to Canon Morris

A tribute to Canon Stuart Morris appears in the current issue of *Stedfast*, published by the United Free Church of Scotland.

Commenting on "the greatest oration I have listened to in 1938"—a reference to Canon Morris's address in the Regal Cinema, Glasgow—"Wayfarer" writes:

"It may shock you to know that I should make a hero of a Church of England clergyman, for Canon Stuart Morris is that, but I offer two reasons—the first that he is less clerical, if possible, than Dick Sheppard, and the second that he is a better Non-Conformist than I am, being in the continual opposition to the prevailing opinions of his Church. And all this leaves me practically no space for the thoughts that crowd in on me as I stand shivering on the brink of 1939."

"**S**PEAKING Personally" is a forum for the expression of individual views, which must not be taken to represent those of the Peace Pledge Union or of "Peace News."

Nigel Spottiswoode is the sixteenth contributor to the feature, and this is the second of three articles by him.

our responsibility is great—for the control of the enormously productive machinery throughout the Empire and much of the rest of the world lies largely in England. If we can liberate ourselves, we shall free also the native races who are the slaves of Imperialism.

★

**J**UST a glance at India. The problem which faced Congress when it started its work was as follows.

The village spinning industry which was for centuries the backbone of Indian economy had been killed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by the machine products of Lancashire. In the twentieth century, British capital was exported to Bombay and other towns largely in the form of cotton and textile mills, and the peasants began to leave the land and flock to the towns where relatively high wages (though, of course, low compared with England) could be obtained. English eighteenth-century history is being repeated in twentieth-century India.

## "RELIGIOUS WAR"

"It is not to be denied that many so-called 'wars of religion' have been as nakedly selfish as any other kinds of war, and even more ineffective in their result," the Very Rev. C. A. Alington, Dean of Durham, stated in the *Daily Telegraph* recently, but if men are to fight at all... it is surely better that they should fight for ideas than for any other conceivable reason, and the ideas which religion suggests must seem, at least to religious people, the most important of all..."

"My point is that there is a sense in which a really 'religious war' is the only war which has a moral justification..."

"Should we ever be forced into a war with Germany—which God forbid—it will not be because of her growing strength or because we dislike the form of her government. The only thing which could force us into such a conflict would be if she threatened to establish a dominion in lands not her own under which freedom of thought, freedom of worship, and those great moral liberties in which lie the one hope of true progress for humanity, were utterly denied."

## NON-VIOLENCE AND THE UNEMPLOYED

From a Correspondent

**T**HE British unemployed workers since the end of the Great War have at times numbered three millions.

They have suffered terribly, first from the moral effects of being deprived of one of man's foremost necessities—regular work—and secondly from shortage of food, clothes, shelter, recreation, and all the other essentials of a balanced life. Yet they have borne all this with scarcely a grumble, and such protests as have been made have been entirely non-violent in character.

The Hunger March of 1936 was orderly, despite the discomfort it inflicted on those who took part. It shook the complacency of a number of Tory MPs, and led to the introduction of fresh legislation dealing with the Distressed Areas.

During the last few days we have read of other demonstrations carried out in the same spirit, following precisely the lines laid down by M. K. Gandhi, which have again aroused the sympathy of the public and particularly of pacifists.

## NON-VIOLENCE IN PRACTICE

While we have been discussing non-violence in our study groups, Wal Hannington and Donald Renton of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement have been trying it out in practice. Their work has shown imagination and courage, it has been done efficiently. There has been good humour and restraint.

When I interviewed him at his office Wal Hannington remarked: "We told our fellows that when the police pushed them, they were to bear it. On no account were they to push back." So the only charge which could be laid against the men was that of "using insulting words and behaviour," for which only nominal fines could be imposed.

The affair at the Ritz, when a group of unemployed men with a few coppers in their pockets walked quietly in and ordered tea, has been followed by others in which coffins and such slogans as "Starved, Protested, Arrested" have been used.

Then we had the visit of the workless to the £2 10s.-per-head dinner of the Food and Wine Society at the Auberge de France, which drew a contrast between the gourmet's scale of living and that of the Stepney couple with a child of 12 who exist on 33s. 6d. per week Poor Law Relief.

## N.U.W.M. AND P.P.U.

These activities, relying on principles which form the basis of pacifism, should surely receive official support in a letter from the Sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union to the leaders of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement.

It might also be possible for groups to contribute small sums for paying the fines and other expenses of the men who volunteer for the demonstrations. These men receive no other payment for their very difficult work.

Wal Hannington, the secretary of the Movement, whose offices are at 144 Holborn, London, E.C.1, can arrange for speakers to address PPU groups on subjects connected with unemployment. Meanwhile, his non-violent protests are to continue. "Keep your eyes open," he advised me as we parted, "we have some more good things up our sleeve."

## PEACE PLEDGE UNION

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## John Barclay on INSPIRATION

The Group  
Secretary's  
Weekly  
Notes

WHAT kind of inspiration are we in need of at this critical time? The general feeling all over the country within the Peace Pledge Union Groups seems to be a desire for action.

It is finding expression in work on behalf of the refugees, and Max Plowman's inspired article last week will have given a great many people new impetus in this direction. There is a sense of urgency in the air, a feeling that time matters and that time wasted is time lost.

Many of our speakers up and down the country are giving inspiration to groups and glowing letters of thanks reward them a few days after they have poured out their soul in an attempt to persuade still more people to abandon the idea of war as a means of defence.

But in spite of all this and much else, we are waiting for a call to action that will penetrate our very depths and discharge this dynamite in every one of us so that instantaneously we become conscious of a new vision. That it will come I am certain. A sudden awareness of how near we are to world war will show us at the same time how close we might be to world peace.

With the awakening will come a great flood of support, a desire to help in all kinds of ways, by hand, brain and wealth. I believe that within our membership we have the great spiritual vitality necessary for such a new adventure for, make no mistake, it has got to be all or nothing each time we go forward.

I visualize a spirit of gay abandonment, and laughing in the face of pessimists. We are surrounded by misery, let us for mercy's sake lighten the miserable by Joy! I refuse to mope about and become one of Sir Samuel Hoare's "jitter-bugs." Given enough laughter in ourselves we can face the stupendous task of helping the sad.

We need money badly, money for our literature and our job of getting about to all parts of the British Isles. Give us this support which we need and the inspiration which comes from the sacrifice will rush out to meet the new flood coming in. It is always a question of "How much can we afford?" And it should be possible to say "As much as we have got!"

But even more important than the £5,000 which we want in cash immediately are the 5,000 active members (at present

inactive) to help us in forming new groups. Every town and village has got its pacifist nucleus, we want it to become a pacifist centre of activity. Will you help by getting more and more people interested and active, and will you give even more than you can afford so that the work will not only go on but double in intensity?

Pacifists in need are using the "Occupational First Aid."

Nearly a year ago I began what I called the Occupational First Aid system. From a small beginning it has become quite an important part of my work. Over 350 names are on the list and more come in each week.

For those who do not remember what it is, let me briefly explain. I keep a record of any pacifist who likes to join, filed under his or her occupation.

Then, suppose I hear of a pacifist "accountant" out of work (whether because of his pacifist views or not), I can immediately send a note of his case to all the accountants on my list who, being pacifists, will have a special incentive to help. Already we have been instrumental in finding new jobs for eight such cases and here is one more for which I want a wider appeal:

Mme. B., French pacifist; 35 years old; a N.W. London Group. French and/or English Secretary with equal facility; French and English shorthand, varied business experience. Failing such a position being available soon, would be happy to give private French lessons.

If you have not already joined the scheme please write and ask me for cards.

## Under the Oak Tree ECHOES FROM CATALONIA

By Theo Wills

ADOPTIVE parents and all our friends in various parts of the country must have been worried about the children of Basque House last week.

The fall of Barcelona was big news, it momentarily arrested public attention and took its place in the chronicle of the Spanish war. People talked for a while about its strategic importance to the combatants, and the probable international reactions.

But here is the same account being rendered in human terms; a miniature through intense reflection of the calamities in Catalonia. There were several tense, anxious days with drawn, uneasy faces clustered round a scarcely audible wireless set that told news of the capital; and then came the night with only silence from the same wavelength.

About half the children have, or had, relatives who were refugees in Barcelona and district, or who were fighting for the second time in the defence of a beleaguered capital. Dread and harrowing fears for the safety of fathers and sisters are not allayed by reading English newspapers; no information has yet reached us of the fate of their families and must inevitably be long a-coming.

We can but imagine what all this must mean to a child. But Basque House justifies itself again in being the comforting home of a whole family, where the sorrows of one are borne by all and where there is security to recover.

The regularity of the routine is a re-assurance, and carries them along. Meals have to be prepared, floors to be brushed, and clothes to be washed, as on every day of the week. Life does indeed go on. Our next monthly concert will take place as planned on Sunday, February 5, at 3.30 p.m.

At such crisis as this the invaluable service of Basque House stands forth clearly; and our sympathizers, understanding the strength of their assistance, will feel more determined to stand firmly by their own creation.

This series, "Under the Oak Tree," is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our proteges at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

## The Notice Board

Items must be received by MONDAY.

### Meetings

West Norwood group meets on second and fourth Tuesdays in Room 4, St. Luke's Church Hall (near tram terminus). Study circle (to study Gregg's *The Power of Non-Violence*), meets in members' houses in rotation—usually first and third Tuesdays.

Honor Oak Park group meets in the Dick Sheppard Centre, 386 Brockley Road (corner of Eddystone Road) every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Group leader: Ronald H. Smith, 15 Courtrai Road, S.E.23.

### Poster Parades

See page 7 for details of National Petition Parades in London.

Edmonton.—Parade from Independent Church (next to Town Hall) at 6 p.m. on February 4.

Volunteers wanted for special parades to awaken public interest in the sufferings of Sudeten refugees. Held every Monday from 6.45 p.m. from Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street, W.1. Refreshments before and after the parade obtainable at the club.

### "Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Kings Heath.—Selling in this district has commenced. More sellers are required between 2.30 and 5 p.m. on Saturdays. Write A. G. Sparkes, 43 Forest Road, Mosely, Birmingham, 13.

Bradford.—Volunteers wanted every Saturday. Meet outside Brown and Muffs (Tyrell Street entrance) at 2.15 p.m. Names and addresses to J. Ibsen, Dale Garth, Daleside Road, Thornbury, Bradford.

Sheffield.—Urgent, on Fridays, between 5.45 and 8.30 p.m. at corner of Fargate and Leopold Street. Volunteers are asked to notify Geoffrey Pickup, 25, Change Alley, Sheffield, 1, not later than the previous Monday.

Belfast.—Volunteers wanted for Friday evenings. Write Miss I. Brown, 56 Ulster Avenue, Belfast.

Tottenham.—Helpers are urgently required to sell *Peace News* and help at bookstall on Fridays from 6 p.m. outside the Friends' Meeting House, High Road.—Write to Hilda Butcher, 19 Greyhound Road, London, N.17.

### Miscellaneous

Cardiff.—On Tuesday, February 7, and on every following Tuesday, the Friends' Meeting House, 43 Charles Street, will be open from 7 p.m. to 9.30 p.m. for peace work. Make this a centre for PPU efforts.

Offers of hospitality for refugee friends urgently needed from London Area, particularly for short periods of a night or two, to take them on arrival in London before travelling on to other parts of the country. Write to: War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

## Group News from the Four Corners

ALREADY numerous speakers have promised to address the meetings organized by the City group which will be held on Tower Hill every Tuesday from 12.30 to 2 p.m.

The programme so far arranged is:—

February 7, Andrew Stewart  
Preston Benson.

February 14, M. W. Briar  
W. G. Millman.

In addition the following have already promised to speak at later dates:—

February 28, Jomo Kenyatta.

March 7, Miss Sybil Morrison.

March 7, Rev. Reginald Sorensen.

May 2, Canon Stuart Morris.

Other speakers will include (apart from return visits from those who have already spoken) Fred Messer, Canon Charles Raven, Miss Elizabeth Thorneycroft, Miss Vera Brittain, Rev. Alex Miller, James Norbury, Nigel Spottiswoode, &c.

### Peckham Opposition to Conscription

A MOTION declaring "that we shall use all legitimate means to oppose the warlike preparations of our Government and affirm our uncompromising opposition to National Service and conscription" was carried unanimously at a meeting arranged last week by the Peckham group jointly with the Militant Labour League and the Labour League of Youth.

Andrew Stewart, the PPU speaker, said he was against the National Register, ARP, and armaments, because he was against war. On the grounds of the utility of war he was not going to offer his services in any shape or form.

Mr. Van Gelderen, for the Militant Labour League, declared: "We must not wait until the Government decides on conscription; we must act now." The representative of the Labour League of Youth, S. Bone, said the way to beat National Service or conscription was to spread propaganda among trade unions and workers.

### Nigel Spottiswoode at Llanelli

SPEAKING at Llanelli recently Nigel Spottiswoode said that if a man from the moon was to visit the earth he would see strange paradoxes.

The greatest paradox of all was that nations prepared for war while professing to desire peace. It was not through a lack of desire for peace, he said, but because we, in common with other nations, feared that war may be forced on us.

The Rev. R. J. Jones, of Cardiff, said that to avoid the evil of war it was necessary to preach and to practice the way of love as expounded by Jesus.

The deputy Mayor, Alderman W. E. Davies, presided.

### The Dick Sheppard Memorial Club Restaurant

in the buildings of The King's Weigh House Church, Thomas Street, Oxford Street, W.1 (two minutes from Selfridge's), is OPEN DAILY (except on Saturdays) from 3.30 p.m. to 9.30 p.m. to Members and non-Members alike.

★

The Club has rooms that can be hired.

A PROTEST meeting against war was organized by the Fulham group recently. The speakers were the Rev. R. W. Sorensen, M.P., Mr. Preston Benson, Miss Sybil Morrison, with Mr. J. Bonthorne Wilson as chairman.

The attendance was small—about 200 being present—but was a sufficient indication that considerable interest has been aroused in the district, which PPU members intend to hang on to.

Mr. Benson spoke of the repeated betrayals of their constitutions by the pseudo-democracies in the endeavour to build up armies and armaments to the exclusion of any real useful or social service.

### Brighton's Dick Sheppard Centre Opens

THE new Dick Sheppard Centre in Brighton was opened on Thursday of last week by John Barclay.

Dr. Crow was in the chair and the room was packed to capacity. "Standing room only" was the fate for late-comers.

Miss Heginbotham, the Group Secretary, gave a vivid account of the aims and objects of the Club and invited everyone present to become active members.

After the treasurer had made it clear that £ s. d. was an essential part of the PPU, John Barclay spoke on the work that was being done all over the country and especially on the need for an active centre in Brighton, the home of the well-known "Colonel Blimp." Tea and biscuits were passed round by the committee, and questions came rapidly and were dealt with by Mr. Barclay until he had to rush away to catch his train.

Please note the address of this new Dick Sheppard Centre: 48 Montpelier Place, Brighton.

### West Yorkshire Federation

IN opening the quarterly meeting of the West Yorkshire Federation, held recently, C. Kenneth Frost, the Federation chairman, referred to the National Service Register and mentioned that members of certain professional bodies had received their registration cards through professional associations.

He suggested that PPU members of such organizations, by completing their cards now and stating on them considerably but definitely their position regarding National Service, might cause the Government to hesitate on compulsory measures when Parliament reviewed the position in March next.

Forty delegates from groups in the region and a similar number of Huddersfield members were present, the rendezvous, tea, and evening entertainment being provided by the Huddersfield group.

Reports given at the business meeting in the afternoon showed practically every group in the region to be carrying out a diversity of activities.

Ten Spanish boys came from the local Basque Home to give a selection of songs, &c., in the evening social.

### A Hint from Barking

THE new Barking branch held a special meeting on Monday in connexion with the National Petition for a new Peace Conference. The Mayor of Barking presided and most organizations in the town were represented.

Here is a hint for canvassers. Try "mixed team work," i.e., one lady and one gentleman together. Barking members, who have been exceptionally successful in the canvassing sphere, have found this method very valuable.

SINCE the meeting in December, at which George Lansbury spoke, a new group has been formed in Uxbridge Town, bringing the number of groups in the region to eight.

These are now:—Eastcote, Ruislip, Ruislip Manor, Ickenham, Hillingdon, Hayes, West Drayton and Yiewsley, and Uxbridge.

Efforts are now being made with new contacts in Denham to form another group here. If this is successful the gap between the Uxbridge region and the Beaconsfield and Gerrards Cross area will have been closed.

A combined Petition Committee has been set up at the instigation of the PPU Groups, and work is being done in preparation for the final drive. (Secretary of the Region is: James A. Brown, El-Largani, 2 Corwell Lane, Hillingdon.)

### Manchester Drama Group

DURING its first year the Little Players of the PPU, the Manchester Region, have met with a large measure of success in proclaiming pacifism.

Chiefly engaged in the production of one-act plays under the guidance of the producer, Miss Ethel Russell, of 500 Kingsway, Manchester, the Players will gladly perform for local groups of the PPU, church organizations, &c., although well booked ahead.

In most cases a nominal fee only is charged, sufficient to cover performing rights. Inquiries to: The Secretary, R. O. Wyld, 18 Fairholme Road, Manchester 20.

### Ethel Mannin at Dolgelly

AT a meeting in the Tabernacle, Dolgelly, last week, Miss Ethel Mannin made her debut on a PPU platform. Although busy finishing a book, she had volunteered to travel all the way to Wales, to fill a last minute vacancy caused by Miss Vera Brittain's illness.

Between 350 and 400 attended the meeting, which was also addressed by David Spreckley, with Richard Bishop in the chair, and the audience was most sympathetic.

Miss Mannin, who had been associated with the "Arms for Spain" attitude, described how she had come to change her views on this subject. She had come to realize the utter impossibility for democracy to be defended by military force, and she felt now, that the way the Spanish people should have taken, was the way of non-violent resistance.

### Activity in Lincoln

THE work of the Lincoln group during 1938 included the formation of an International Voluntary Service for Peace branch which, with four active members, collected about £30 worth of milk for Spanish children, and the formation of a branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Open-air meetings were held in two local villages at which there were attendances of about forty and sixty, and an open-air meeting with the PPU van was held on the Cornhill during crisis week. There were about 300 people present at the latter meeting which was addressed by Nigel Spottiswoode.

Future activities include arrangements for the visit of the Rev. Leslie Artingstall on March 1, and Canon Morris and the Rev. G. A. Parkinson on March 19.

### King's Lynn Discussion

A MEETING of the King's Lynn group on January 21 was addressed by Norman Hutchinson, who led a discussion on "What is our Pacifism?"

Members are now looking forward to organizing a debate with the local Conservative and Labour organizations.



## Forthcoming Events

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Today (Friday)

**LONDON W.1:** 6.30 p.m., Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street; Shoran Singha on "East and West in Thought and Outlook"; PPU. **TROWBRIDGE:** 7.30 p.m., The Tabernacle; Miss Cornvatt on "Palestine"; PPU. **LONDON, W.C.1:** 8 p.m., 8 Endsleigh Gardens; discussion on "The Problem of Jewish Persecution"; PPU.

**MUSWELL HILL:** 8.15 p.m., Alexandra Park Congregational Church; H. Runham Brown on "The Work of the WRI"; PPU.

### Tomorrow (Saturday)

**HERNE BAY:** 3 p.m., The Hut, Hillboro' Road group meeting; 4 p.m., open-air meeting; 5.30 p.m., Loder's Cafe, regional committee; 8 p.m., County Hall, "Which Way to Peace?"; PPU. **CATFORD:** 6.15 p.m. and 7.30 p.m., New Cooperative Hall, Davenport Road, Rushy Green; film show of Kameradschaft and supporting programme; PPU.

### Sunday, Feb. 5

**ELTHAM:** 3 p.m., Methodist Church, Westmount Road; "Why I will not fight again"; Eltham Park Brotherhood PSA.

### Monday, Feb. 6

**LONDON, W.1:** 6.30 p.m., Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; Archdeacon Hartill. **BRISTOL:** 7.30 p.m., Quaker Friars, Rosemary Street; James Hudson on "National Service and Conscription"; Joint Bristol Pacifist Societies. **MANCHESTER:** 7.30 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; Rev. Henry Carter, C. E. Cliff and Mrs. Dorothy Vipont Brown (chairman) on "The National Peace Council Petition"; Manchester and Salford Joint Peace Committee. **NORTHWOOD, Middlesex:** 8 p.m., Central Hall, Hollowell Road; Dr. Alex Wood and Christopher Sharman (chairman); Pacifist Group. **GRAVESEND:** 8 p.m., Princess Street Congregational Hall; Ben Greene on "A Positive Peace Policy"; Rev. Howard Kemp (chairman); PPU.

### Tuesday, Feb. 7

**TOWER HILL:** 12.30 p.m., Open-air meeting; Andrew Stewart and Preston Benson; City PPU group. **LONDON, W.1:** 7.45 p.m., Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street; London Group Leaders of the PPU. **HORNSEY:** 8 p.m.; Town Hall, Crouch End Broadway; A. Fenner Brockway and Andrew Stewart on "The Government's National Service Scheme"; PPU. **BERMONDSEY:** 8.30 p.m., Labour Institute, 60b Fort Road; Arthur Hewlett and J. A. W. Douglas (chairman); PPU. **ISLINGTON:** 8.30 p.m., Hornsey Road Methodist Church; George Harvey on "The Work of the League of Good Samaritans" Methodist Peace Fellowship.

### Wed. & Thurs., Feb. 8 & 9

**GATLEY GREEN:** 7.45 p.m., Parish Church Hall; *The Enemy*, by Channing Pollock; Manchester Peace Players. Tickets (6d. and 1s.) from W. Marsh, 20 High Street, Cheadle, and W. J. Lyon, 6 Church Road, Gatley.

### Wednesday, Feb. 8

**WINSOMBE:** 3.15 p.m., Union Chapel; Miss Mary Gamble; PPU. **KEIGHLEY:** 7.30 p.m., Friends' Meeting House; Rev. Donald Robins on "Understanding Germany"; PPU. **KIDDERMINSTER:** 7.30 p.m., Carpet Weavers Assembly Hall, Callows Lane; Captain Heathcock, John Hoyland, and Rev. J. Rowlands (chairman), on "Planning for Peace"; Free Church Council, Society of Friends, and PPU. **HARROW:** 8 p.m., Trinity Presbyterian Church, Station Road; Rev. Henry Carter, E. Wallis Jones and Rev. H. W. Beck (chairman); Council of Christian Pacifist Groups. **LIVERPOOL:** 8 p.m., Hope Street Church Hall, Caledonia Street; "War: A Roman Catholic View"; Donald Attwater; Social Problem Circle. **LONDON, S.W.1:** 8 p.m., The Overseas Club, Park Place, St. James's; Michael Wayman on "Who is the Enemy?"; PPU. **SUTTON, Surrey:** 8 p.m., Peace Centre, 122 Carshalton Road; Runham Brown on "The War Resisters' International"; PPU. **WESTON-SUPER-MARE:** 8 p.m., Milton Baptist Church; Miss Mary Gamble on "The Challenge of 1939"; chairman, Rev. W. A. L. Pearce; For. **GREENFORD:** 8.15 p.m., Public Library; R. H. Ward on "Is Pacifism possible in a Capitalist Society?"; PPU. **OXFORD:** 8.15 p.m., 115 High Street, Laurence Housman; University Pacifist Association.

### Thursday, Feb. 9

**LONDON, E.C.4:** 1.10 p.m., 13 Paternoster Row; Rev. Henry Carter on "Jew and Christian"; City PPU group. **LONDON, E.C.4:** 5.30 p.m., 13 Paternoster Row; W. G. Millman on "Christ and the Unemployed"; City PPU group. **ABERDEEN:** 8 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, 98 Crown Street; review of International Situation, introduced by W. A. Lanning; PPU.

### Friday, Feb. 10

**LONDON, W.1:** 6.30 p.m., Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street; Roy Walker on "Persuasion under Pressure"; PPU. **LONDON, W.C.1:** 8 p.m., 8 Endsleigh Gardens; discussion with local Labour Party on "Foreign Policy"; PPU. **GREENFORD:** 8.30 p.m., Coston's Lane School; Rev. R. W. Sorensen; PPU.

### Sunday, Feb. 12

**NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE:** 8 p.m., The City Hall, Northumberland Road; Vera Brittain, Maurice Browne, and J. Harvey Robson (chairman), on "Which way to Peace?"; PPU.

What  
does



stand  
for?

### 3. METHOD

*It is sometimes said that pacifism is a mere negation. But though it begins with the refusal to take part in war, it cannot and does not end there. For that reason Aldous Huxley wrote the first official pamphlet of the Peace Pledge Union, What are you going to do about it? explaining its aims and basis. The policy of the Peace Pledge Union arises out of the basis of membership, which is the renunciation of the war method.*

*It stands instead for the method of non-violent resistance, and it aims at so working out the technique of non-violent resistance that it will set the new spirit free and create the new attitude in the world. The Peace Pledge Union is not a specifically Christian movement. There is no credal or sectarian condition of membership. But it asserts pacifism as a faith, for in denying the power of material force it appeals to spiritual and moral power. It is a fellowship of men and women who are prepared to study constructive peace-making, to become enthusiastic peace-makers, and to accept such self-discipline as will be necessary if we are to repudiate all our relationships with the destructive method of violence, and prove the redeeming power of love.*

*The Peace Pledge Union is, therefore, anxious to include within its membership everyone who is ready to renounce war and live instead for peace.*

The headquarters are at 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. The President is George Lansbury, M.P., the Treasurer, Maurice L. Rowntree, the Chairman (and secretary), Canon Stuart Morris, and the Group Organizer, John Barclay.

Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to PPU headquarters.

## Bristol Opposition to National Register

At a well attended conference held at Kingsley Hall, Bristol, under the chairmanship of Mr. Henry Hardcastle (chairman, Bristol branch ILP) on Saturday, January 21st, the following resolution was passed unanimously:

This meeting expresses its complete opposition to the Government's National Register and the organization of the people of the Nation for War purposes, believing it to be designed for the introduction of both military and industrial conscription, and a further step toward fascism in this country.

It therefore supports the proposal to establish a No Conscription League on a national basis, and the formation of a branch of the league in the Bristol area.

A representative committee was elected, with Councillor Fred Berriman (secretary of Bristol ILP) as Convener.

The local Peace Council and Peace Pledge Union were among organizations represented.

### Bolton

A letter sent to all members of the Bolton group of the Peace Pledge Union, as representing the opinions of the committee members who discussed national service recently, contains the following resolution signed by 14 members of the committee:

In no circumstances will we take part in any scheme of "national service," nor will we help in any way in furthering the success of a national register; nor will we become part of any war machine, directly or indirectly, and we will try to persuade all associates to resist such measures in every possible way.

### Too Bad for Recruiting

"Abolish from the streets the great numbers of begging ex-service men, wearing medals, and giving, by their appearance, psychologically the worst impressions of the results of an army career to the young would-be recruits."

Letter in Daily Mail.

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A CLERGYMAN'S WIDOW wishes to recommend highly talented Russian friend for dress-making; also hand-made lingerie, &c. Ladies' own materials made up. Moderate charges. Mrs. Piant, 3 North Grove, Highgate, N.6.

### HEALTH AND MEDICAL

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**KINGSTON, EDINBURGH,** The Fountainhead of Modern Nature Cure (Health: Home and Training Centre). President: James C. Thomson. Particulars from the Secretary, Kingston, Edinburgh, 9.

**MISS J. D. WALLINGTON,** health practitioner, osteopath, bonesetter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods; particularly successful with nerves and digestive cases. Consultations by appointment, 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1 (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way North, Letchworth (Letchworth 885).

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## CONSCRIPTION

(Continued from page 6)

to keep the scheme voluntary, is too ridiculous for words.

During the last war the same voluntary efforts were tried, compulsion followed, and logically the Labour Party, once they accept the principle of supporting the Government's defence schemes, cannot oppose compulsion. National Unity; Industrial Truce; and Conscription, must be resisted with all the power of the supporters of freedom. Accept Conscription, and Fascism has arrived.

The League will organize opposition against this challenge to our freedom, against this effort to hitch the nation to the Government's Imperialist aims. Never again must the workers be led into another world slaughter. Therefore, all lovers of freedom, and all who are opposed to war must rally to this challenge to conscription.

### MEETINGS, &c.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN: February 6, "Is Pacifism a Failure?" Open discussion, 8.30 p.m. 39, Doughty Street, W.C.1.

### PERSONAL

WHICH KIND-HEARTED PEOPLE would take into their house middle-aged lady of good family, splendid housekeeper, great child-lover, homely, modest, tactful, outstanding references, now an outcast in Germany? Advertiser is her friend and lives in this country.—Box 149, Peace News, 3, Blackstock Road, N.4.

### RELIGIOUS

QUAKERISM.—Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

### SITUATIONS

#### Vacant

WANTED: Lady, educated, pacifist, as mother's help with charge of girl 4½. Maid kept. Cheshire. Send photograph. Box No. 146, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

#### Wanted

MIDDLE-AGED FRIEND and member of PPU, with a concern to work for peace, desires post as house-keeper with pacifist family. Vegetarian household preferred, but not essential. Could be free in March. Box 147, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

PACIFIST, 26, active member PPU, &c., seeks situation (London), clerk, bookkeeper.—Box 148, Peace News, 3, Blackstock Road, N.4.

### TYPEWRITING

TYPING FOR "PEACE." Jean's Typing and Duplicating Office are waiting for any jobs you may have—large or small. Speed, efficiency, and low charges. Phone Bishopsgate 3309; 7, Broad Street Station, Liverpool Street, E.C.2.

### WHERE TO STAY

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The Venerable Archdeacon Hartill will speak on  
"The Opportunity Awaiting  
Christian Pacifism"  
at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club,  
KING'S WEIGH HOUSE,  
THOMAS STREET, OXFORD STREET, W.1,  
on Monday, February 6  
at 6.30 p.m. Everyone welcome.

YOUTH HOUSE—the residential centre for progressive youth. Internationalism and fellowship in active communal life. Single bed-sitting rooms, 17s. 6d. p.w. For particulars apply: SECRETARY, Youth House, 250 Camden Road, London, N.W.1. GULiver 5189.

### MEAT EATING INVOLVES CRUELTY!

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## Special Offer to "PEACE NEWS" Readers

Readers of "Peace News" have become interested in the I.L.P. because of its stand against War, Rearmament and the National Register. The "New Leader," organ of the I.L.P., vigorously voices these views each week. Every sincere Peace worker should see it. By using the attached coupon, you can get the "N.L." at the special rate of 2s. 6d. for six months, post free.

I enclose 2s. 6d. Please send me the "N.L." for six months according to your special offer in "Peace News."

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## Furnishing the New H.Q.

ALTERATIONS have begun on the new headquarters at 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, and the Peace Pledge Union hopes to move in at the end of February.

One attraction of the new "Dick Sheppard House" will be its large reception room, and to make it still more attractive upholstered furniture is needed—especially armchairs, settees, or sofas.

If you can offer anything, please write to John Barclay at 96 Regent Street, W.1, giving size and description of the piece of furniture. If it is suitable the PPU will arrange for transport.

## CHILD LABOUR SCANDAL

### Full-time Employment at 10 in Kenya

"Are we going to sanction children of 12 being employed in labour lines far distant from their homes?"

This question is put to the British public in a leaflet written by Archdeacon W. E. Owen, of Kavirondo, Kenya, who campaigned against child labour in the colony during his recent visit to Britain. Following are some of the facts about this evil pointed out in the leaflet:

A Kenya law of April, 1938, makes the full-time employment of children of 10 years, whether literate or illiterate, legal. Following protests in England, a Kenya Government Committee now recommends that the age be raised to 12 years. In many cases this involves children going to labour lines anything up to 500 miles from their homes, for periods of anything up to a year, or longer. The vast majority cannot write and so cannot keep in touch with their mothers by letter-writing. About 36,000 children are affected.

One of the factors which induces parents to let their children go, is the heavy DIRECT TAXATION which we impose. Until I protested, a few years ago, the homes of some tax defaulters were burned to the ground. Tax collection is harsh. In some ways we are getting harsher.

There is no workmen's compensation legislation to protect the children, except in the mining industry, employing about 1,500 juveniles. Employers accept no responsibility for seeing that children reach home when their period of work is completed.

Legislation in Kenya comes to the Colonial Office for sanction. The ultimate responsibility rests with the British public.

"I appeal to you to protest to your MP against this exploitation of child labour in Africa," concludes Archdeacon Owen.

## Parliamentary Notes

### ARMISTICE, NOT ARMS, FOR SPAIN

By Our Lobby Correspondent,  
JAMES H. HUDSON

RELIEF and thankfulness that Herr Hitler's speech had been no worse were the prevailing sentiments among most members of Parliament at the reopening of the session. But the Opposition members in particular were oppressed by the terrible news from the roads over the Pyrenees.

Mr. Chamberlain said that Mussolini had made it clear to him at Rome that there would be no solution of the differences between France and Italy until the war in Spain had ended.

Some affect to see a certain irony in the Duce's statement. Yet it is ordinary common sense that the more arms we send for the Government in Spain the more arms will be found by the other side; and greater hatred and prolongation of the struggle will be the consequence.

It needs, thus, no Mussolini to tell us that this war in Spain must stop if there is to be any chance for Spain or for peace in Europe. Would to heaven the Opposition saw this, and ceased its ineffective groan of "arms for Spain!"

If the united British Opposition would ceaselessly press on Mr. Chamberlain the necessity for an intervention in the interest of an immediate armistice, does anyone imagine, with all the Prime Minister's opportunities of approach to Mussolini, Hitler, and the Pope he would fail to bring an end to the wicked murders and cruel suffering?

## A Pacifist Commentary

### The Next Crisis — Cause and Cure Hints from Hitler

SIR SAMUEL HOARE doesn't like the "jitter-bugs." "Those timid panic-mongers," he called them, who undermined the great god Public Confidence, and created a "fatal feeling of the inevitability of war, when there is no such inevitability at all." Without becoming "jitter-bugs," then, let us look at the European scene.

Republican Spain is doomed, as is any other democracy that thinks to preserve itself by modern war, defensive or otherwise. Its fall will open a new phase in the development of Europe.

France's victory will herald further demands by the Axis upon the democratic Powers. The next victim, we are assured in some quarters, will be France.

The crisis threatens to be concerned with Italian claims respecting Tunis, &c., though these may prove to be bargaining counters in respect of other grievances concerning Suez Canal administration and easier access to Abyssinia.

Once again attempts will be made to work up an atmosphere of impending catastrophe, providing an opportunity for Hitler to use his restraining influence—as his fellow-dictator did last September. We may anticipate that there will be a price to pay for his mediation. Whether it will be based on German colonial claims or on the desire for further expansion in Europe cannot be foreseen at the moment.

### Another "Munich"

FOR the democracies this situation will be presented as a choice between war and bloodless adjustment of interests masquerading as peace.

### Young Pacifists' Progress in France

Under the energetic leadership of its 19-year-old President, R. A. Bodinier, and Marcel Pichon (Secretary of the Junior Section of the War Resisters' International) the pacifist Ligue Scolaire Internationale pour la Paix has been rapidly increasing its influence in France during the past few months.

Propaganda is being developed in various centres, and in Paris representatives of the pacifist viewpoint are sent to all meetings concerned with youth.

Literature has been published not only in French but also in English, Flemish, Norwegian and Polish, to help groups which have been organized in nine different countries. The current issue of the organization's illustrated monthly newspaper, *La Voie Nouvelle*, contains articles in French, English and Afrikaans.

(*La Voie Nouvelle* is obtainable from Mr. E. S. Tew, 91 Lyndhurst Gardens, Finchley, London, N.3, price 3d. per copy or 3s. per annum, post free).

A bloodless settlement will again be reached, for the same reasons as those which weighed at Munich—that the British and French Governments do not intend to aid the downfall of fascism and national-socialism, and that public opinion is in any case still too much opposed to war.

Already the French Foreign Minister has publicly admitted the basic contention of the Italian claim—that whereas promises of colonial aggrandisement were made to Italy in 1915 she received "little more from the 1935 (Laval-Mussolini) Agreement than a few deserts." He has since been rebuked for this statement—presumably because it was premature.

The French Premier himself has declared that France is ready for an international conference, and the Foreign Minister has even intimated that France is ready to take the initiative in arranging a conference of "all peoples desiring to organize peace."

But if the outcome of the next crisis will not be war, neither will it be peace; for the drive to war will remain, and the regimentation of our people for war—via ARP and National Service—will receive the impetus of another war scare. That is, if, as before, people allow themselves to be scared.

### The Remedy

THE very demands that the next crisis will produce will show that the system of economic competition is the source of world tension. The position was put with surprising clarity in the *Popolo di Roma* on Sunday. After asking why, if all countries want peace, it is not possible to find a peaceful solution, this Italian newspaper declared:

"Although the governments are at one in desiring peace, they do not want the same peace. The totalitarian States want peace only on condition that some of their vital and fundamental necessities are satisfied. The other States want it on condition that each should hold what he has indefinitely."

To saddle either group with sole responsibility for disturbing the peace is absurd. The real task is to substitute cooperation for competition.

Last September the Sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union stated: "The present crisis is the clearest possible example of historical retribution and a clear justification of pacifist policy." The next crisis will reinforce that claim.

Before the next crisis "breaks," then, we must bend all our energies to the job of bringing the real issue before the public. (The National Petition for a new Peace Conference offers a fine opportunity of doing this.) It must be shorn of ideological trimmings and irrelevant prejudice concerning problems subsidiary to the main one.

Such activity will satisfy neither those who declare that all is well in the best possible of worlds, nor the irresponsible "jitter-bugs." But it will be the only sane activity for people who see crises as symptoms of a disease which war can only aggravate.

### Mediterranean Moves

RECENT messages from Rome indicate that Mussolini intends to conclude a military alliance with the new Spanish Government after General Franco has achieved the victory on which Italy has staked so much in men and money. Then he will be in a position to press his claims upon France.

"In manoeuvring for this position," reported *The Times* on Saturday, "he will not necessarily be going against his pledges to Great Britain"—presumably a

reference to his promise to withdraw volunteers and to respect the integrity of Spain. The task of preventing the tension from becoming acute during the very delicate period ahead, said the same message, "will clearly fall mainly on the British Government."

Not only does Mussolini intend to keep his promises only when he considers the time is ripe to do so—nothing new in power-politics—but he is adopting the same tactics, for the same reason, over talk of a Four-Power Conference. The latter suggestion, said *The Times*, found no echo in Italian circles.

### Hitler's Speech

THE "jitter-bugs" were pleasantly surprised, no doubt, when they heard or read Herr Hitler's speech. Relief and satisfaction seemed to be the reaction of most countries.

As is often the case, points which have not excited a great deal of comment are in some ways the most important. There was, for example, a passage which might have come from a speaker on a Peace Pledge Union platform!

Leading up to the German colonial claims, Hitler said it was quite clear that either the wealth of the world was divided by force, in which case this division would be corrected from time to time by force, or the division was based on grounds of equity and therefore also of common sense, in which case equity and common sense must also serve the cause of justice and ultimately of expediency.

Whatever may be thought of Germany's colonial claims in themselves, that statement was a simple one of fact which no one should ignore.

### Colonies and Refugees

AS to those claims themselves, Hitler estimated that 3,000,000 square kilometres of colonial possessions which had fallen to Britain and France, together with the refusal to grant military and political equality to Germany, would in a short time have cost Britain £1,666,000,000. He added: "I am afraid that in the not too distant future this sum will increase at an even greater rate."

Was this enigmatic statement a reference to the intensification of the arms race? And, if so, will the British Government take the hint and try to find solutions to these problems less costly and "based on grounds of equity and therefore also of common sense"?

There was some justification for Hitler's sarcastic reference to the fact that the democratic world, "oozing sympathy for the poor tormented Jewish people," remained "hard-hearted and obdurate when it comes to helping them—which, in view of its attitude, is surely an obvious duty." Will Britain take that hint, too? Assistance for refugees, planned on a really big scale, would give some moral backing to the frequent protests against persecution.

### "Most Urgent Need"

IN its comment on the speech *The Times* admitted the need of the times to be constructive action in the economic sphere, and declared that "Britain will take her share" in it. Here are the actual words:

"No task lies nearer to hand, if war is to be laid aside as an instrument of policy, than that of a common exploitation of the ample means which exist of increasing the standard of life for peoples of every race and colour. This is the world's most urgent need, and in the answer to it no country will take her share more willingly or, perhaps, more decisively, than Britain."

In view of the importance of *The Times* as a semi-official mouthpiece of the Government on many matters these words should be used as a challenge to the Government. When, and how, will it act in response to the admittedly "urgent need"?

## We Did Not Say It . . .

### The Bulldog Breed?

"Major E. B. Robinson, the officer commanding the East Yorks Regiment, believes that the morale of his troops will be improved if they sleep in pyjamas."

—*Sunday Express*.

### Defective Teaching?

"Defects in national education are chiefly responsible for shortage of recruits. Religious education condemning preparation for war as being inconsistent with Christ's teaching creates a moral conscience of predominating influence."

—*Letter in Daily Mail*.

### "Allowed to Live . . ."

"I would suggest that all men under fifty who have been unemployed for two years or longer should be required to enlist. Surely in no country are such enormous numbers of men allowed to live in comparative comfort and contribute nothing to the nation except hordes of children which the State has to maintain."

A writer in the *West London Observer*.

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